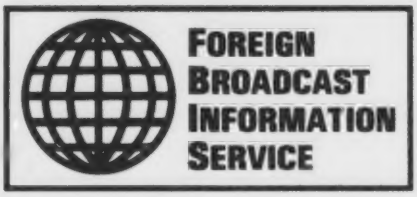

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Nazarbayev Offers Yeltsin Support for CIS Summit

MK1903113493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Mar 93 p 1

[Letter from President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan to President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, published under "Document" rubric and headlined: "Nazarbayev Supports Yeltsin and Proposes Meeting in Near Future"]

[Text] To President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin of the Russian Federation

Dear Boris Nikolayevich!

I share the common position expressed in your appeal and repeatedly supported by Kazakhstan and Russia on strengthening the Commonwealth and deepening economic reforms and democratic transformations. Given the traditional desire of our states' peoples to maintain and promote comprehensive cooperation, find a joint way out of economic crisis, and restore broken ties, I suggest that the heads of state and government of the Commonwealth who signed the CIS charter meet and make specific decisions on the following matters:

1. On the creation of smoothly functioning defense alliance bodies (along the lines of existing international organizations) in accordance with the Treaty on Collective Security.

2. On the principles of ensuring a viable economic space with a single supranational currency, free trade, and the creation of a customs union.

3. On setting up an interstate economic committee with the requisite powers, which will be delegated to it by the states that support this decision.

4. On devising principles for mutual relations with the states that have not signed the CIS charter.

I believe that a meeting to discuss these issues could be held in late March or early April, in Moscow or elsewhere. It is advisable to entrust the preparation of the draft documents for the meeting to the heads of government.

Yours sincerely, Nursultan Nazarbayev

Moldovan, Turkmenistan Leaders View CIS Summit

MK1903112293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 93 p 3

[Igor Zhukov report: "From Chisinau to Delhi via Ashgabat. Saparmurat Niyazov and Mircea Snegur Sign Friendship Treaty and Discuss Idea of Alternative to CIS"]

[Text] The three-hour meeting (on the evening of 16 March) between Moldova President Mircea Snegur, who made a stopover in Ashgabat on his way to India, and Turkmenistan President Saparmurat Niyazov was distinguished, as the latter put it, by "a high degree of fruitfulness and a coincidence of views with respect to many of the problems discussed."

During the talks a 10-year bilateral treaty of friendship and cooperation was signed, calling for the expansion of economic, cultural, and scientific relations and also the establishment of closer contacts between the governments and parliaments of the two countries. The two sides also reviewed the realization of the one-year trade and economic cooperation agreement between Turkmenistan and Moldova, which, according to Niyazov, was being implemented in an atmosphere of an honest and confident partnership that was not clouded even by the payment delays occurring through Turkmenistan's fault.

In pursuance of the agreement, it was considered advisable to draw up new documents about mutual deliveries and services, prices, and the circulation of securities, and also about the timetable for going over to mutual settlements taking into account world prices of Turkmen gas, oil products, and cotton and also of Moldovan agricultural produce and industrial goods.

The political component of the two leaders' talks may be considered at least as fruitful, if not more so. They dealt with the situation in the Dniester region, the stepping up of the confrontation between the Russian branches of power, and the situation in the CIS. Saparmurat Niyazov argued for the maintenance of Moldova's existing borders and supported Snegur's efforts to resolve domestic political problems independently, without any interference by any third countries. The sides' stances were not as close in the exchange of opinions with regard to the constitutional crisis in Russia. Acknowledging that the very discussion of an internal political affair of a sovereign state was not quite appropriate, the Moldovan president nevertheless thought it necessary to speak up in favor of a democratic division of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers in Russia and against the overconcentration of authority in the same hands.

The leader of Turkmenistan pointed to the evident influence that events in Russia have on its neighbor countries. However, he said, the Russian leaders must have enough will and reason to resolve all the contradictions in a peaceful way. Speaking about the concentration of authority, Niyazov avoided categorical statements, having in mind the merits of the political model for social development characteristic of Turkmenistan. In his view, the concentration of authority in a period of reform can assist progressive transformations provided that it is aimed at consolidating all the forces in society.

The most complete coincidence of views was reached when the situation in the CIS was assessed. The two countries' presidents, who did not sign the draft CIS Charter and have expressed a "particular view" on many other aspects of the Commonwealth's life, reaffirmed once again that the CIS mechanism does not provide for

normal collaboration among the partners and fails to create conditions for maintaining economic ties. Because it focuses too closely on organizational matters, the search for solutions by way of creating rigid structures within the CIS only leads to further fragmentation and changes the status of the members of the CIS itself.

Drawing a pessimistic picture for his guest of the future of the CIS under the current conditions, Niyazov went further than simply stating facts and suggested discussing his own idea for overcoming the impasse, which continues to be founded on the inadmissibility of recreating the center in any form, the possibility of vertical administrative relationships, and an exclusive reliance on mutually advantageous horizontal bilateral relations. Proceeding from the need to establish and maintain interstate relations with all the sovereign republics that have emerged on the territory of the former USSR, the Turkmen president suggested to his Moldovan counterpart that a meeting of the leaders of all these countries, including the Baltic countries, be held in September-October in Ashgabat. According to Niyazov, a summit devoid of CIS stereotypes and contemplated as an analogue to a G-7 summit will enable the leaders to agree, on a conceptual level, on two or three particularly important issues and then authorize the governments of all the states to resolve them subsequently.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent learned that the Moldovan president supported Saparmurat Niyazov's proposal. Perhaps abiding by an earlier understanding, Snegur did not go into detail when he briefed journalists on the meeting's results, calling them only "dreaming aloud that could lead to weighty results." To all appearances, however, his caution in public assessments was due to certain doubts he has as to the meeting's feasibility. Nonetheless, it transpires from government sources that the Russian leadership has already responded to the Turkmen president's initiative. The most difficult thing appears to be obtaining the agreement of the Baltic states' leaders, particularly Estonia's.

Moldova, Ukraine Support Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan

LD2003175193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1724 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau March 20 TASS—Moldovan and Ukrainian PMs on Saturday declared their support for the economic union between Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus.

Asked by ITAR-TASS at a news conference in Chisinau devoted to the signing of agreements on cooperation between the two republics, they said that the economic union was the only way to overcome obstacles that the republics of the former Soviet Union encountered.

"The delegations of our countries supported the creation of an economic union at a meeting of heads of state of the Commonwealth in Minsk," Moldovan Prime Minister Andrey Sangeli emphasised. "If we want the economy to work, we need to brush aside all political ambitions that stand in our way and do everything possible to improve people's life."

Armenian, Kyrgyz Presidents on Russian Congress

LD1903184093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1542 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek, 19 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—"What we saw at the congress is a natural process which is taking place in all CIS parliaments." Such was the assessment of the last Congress of People's Deputies given by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan upon request of an ITAR-TASS correspondent. Together with Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev he took part in a news conference today which was held after the signing of the Treaty on Inter-State Relations between Armenia and Kyrgyzstan.

"The absence of the constitution creates the conditions when parliament, by inertia of its psychology, still regards itself as the supreme power and does not understand that it is only one of the power branches," L. Ter-Petrosyan observed. "While the parliament does not recognize it, the struggle will continue. It will end only when the people adopt the constitution by their free will to the effect that it should not occur either to the president or the parliament to appropriate some authorities of the other power branch."

"I think that everything, which is happening in Russia," the Kyrgyzstan president said, "is a normal process for any state during a transitional period. That is why we are in a hurry to adopt the constitution. I fully support Boris Yeltsin's desire to speed up the adoption of the new constitution. Only then will it become possible to put an end to confrontation, to define the share of power and create a balance between the president, parliament, and the court."

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 20 Mar

LD2003064193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0623 GMT 20 Mar 93

["The Review of Russian Newspapers"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—The Eighth Congress of Russian People's Deputies held here recently and the aggravation of relations between Georgia and Russia are the dominant themes of the Moscow press today.

The trade union newspaper TRUD reports that the Congress "has highlighted political sympathies in society", which some trade union leaders, specifically the

leaders of the independent miners' trade union were not avertB [as received] making use of.

Threatening with a strike, representatives of this trade union in Kuzbass and Vorkuta put forward a number of demands to the Russian parliament, among them the demand for the mandatory holding of an all-Russian referendum on issues proposed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Yet Vorkuta's miners stated they did not support the strike call and representatives of the independent trade union of the coal industry workers, at their meeting in Novokuznetsk, censured their fellow workers' attempts "to drag miners in political games." They urged them to work for the solution of only socio-economic problems.

The independent NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA paper points out that the Congress "caused a flurry of political statements adopted upon its results by various political parties and movements." Those of them who stand by President Yeltsin believe that the Congress allegedly usurped power and their political opponents accuse the Russian president of unconstitutional actions and declare their readiness to counter them with adequate measures to protect the Russian Constitution.

Commenting on the likelihood that a presidential rule will be imposed in the country, the newspaper suggests that parliament "will not be sitting on its hands" and will announce this measure "as a coup d'etat". NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA then prints the whole text of an interview with Grigoriy Shamin, head of the Tomsk regional council of people's deputies, who says: "The Russian parliament gave up a significant share of its influence in favour of the government. Therefore, the assertion about the ursurpation of power is sheer nonsense."

The Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA describes as "almost the only positive result of the Congress" the fact that the "leaders of major Western countries turned their attention away from their domestic problems and reminisced about Russia."

A. Golts, the author of the commentary, writes that they were prompted to do so because they visualised in the political confrontation in Russia a threat not only to reforms in this country but also to international stability. "Therefore, they threw all their authority behind President Boris Yeltsin."

At the same time, the experience of assistance to Russian reforms demonstrated that "it is mostly of the negative nature." By way of an example the author refers to the "de facto failure", as he put it, of the programme to render this assistance through the International Monetary Fund, which was adopted a year ago. "The matter here is not so much in the six billion dollars which were not extended. The programme did not become a bridge for huge capital to flow to Russia."

The newspapers PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA give credit to the Congress in that it "restored the power of the soviets."

Covering the armed conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia, newspapers cite a statement by Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev who branded as "the lie and provocations" the Georgian side's contention that Russian aircraft fly bomb raids, including over the city of Sukhumi.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA published the texts of the congratulatory messages by Russian leaders to the soldiers of the Leningrad military garrison on the occasion of its 75th anniversary. It is pointed out that in Russia they cherish combat traditions.

Kozyrev Leaves for Talks in Washington

LD2203152293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1420 GMT 22 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, left for a working visit to the United States today. The aim of the trip and his forthcoming talks with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher is to prepare for the Russian-U.S. summit in Vancouver. The current final stage of the talks will clarify the agenda for the meeting between the heads of state.

On his way to Washington, Andrey Kozyrev will make a short stopover at Shannon Airport. It is thought that a meeting between the Russian minister and his Irish counterpart will take place there.

To Discuss G-7 Special Session

OW 1903143993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1421 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The working talks in Washington between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher on March 23 and 24 will concentrate on two issues: preparations for the Russian-American summit in Vancouver and the possibility of holding the G-7 special session on measures to promote the Russian reforms, a high-ranking Russian diplomat informed Interfax.

He said that Kozyrev intended to find out what Americans think about President Mitterrand's idea of holding the G-7 special summit in Vancouver shortly after the Russian-American summit, scheduled for April 3 and 4.

To quote this diplomat, five of the G-7 members, including France, support Mitterrand's initiative. The only country standing apart is Japan, whose position represents the biggest problem. "It looks like Japan does not want the G-7 to solve all the problems before the Tokyo summit, because this might lower the interest in the Tokyo conference," he said. He also added that the Russian-Japanese territorial dispute influenced the Japan's position.

The G-7 summit in Vancouver, if it takes place, will be an emergency event and will not replace the Tokyo summit in which Russia will participate, if it is invited to it, of course, he said.

All this, plus the situation in the hotbeds of tension (Yugoslavia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and the Middle East) are expected to become the subject of Kozyrev's talks with Warren Christopher. Kozyrev is also expected to meet with President Bill Clinton.

See the March 19 issue of the Diplomatic Panorama for details.

Canada's Mulroney Supports Yeltsin, U.S.-Russian Summit

LD2103164693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1606 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] Ottawa, 21 March—Brian Mulroney, prime minister of Canada, has said that he "supports President Yeltsin's decision to give the Russian people an opportunity to exercise the right to determine its own future". In a short statement, issued by his office, Mulroney underlines that he "reiterates once again his firm support for President Yeltsin as a democratically elected leader". Mulroney also believes that the Russian-American summit scheduled to take place on 3-4 April in the Canadian city of Vancouver should go ahead.

European Reaction to Yeltsin Actions Reported

German 'Understanding'

LD2103164193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1615 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn March 21 TASS—The German Government regards measures taken or about to be taken by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to avert the political crisis in the country with understanding, German Government official Dieter Vogel said in Bonn on Sunday [21 March].

Vogel noted that Russian deputies' actions at the recent Congress of People's Deputies were unilateral and aimed against Russia's freely elected president.

In this connection, the German Government would continue its support of Yeltsin's efforts aimed at the implementation of reforms in Russia, Vogel said.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, appeared on ARD Television on Sunday, saying that Bonn would support President Yeltsin even despite measures he had taken to bring the political crisis in Russia to an end. The German Government supports Boris Yeltsin, since the process of reforms in Russia depends on his personality and his personal efforts, Kinkel said.

Britain Supports Reforms

LD2103121093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1200 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Sidorov]

[Text] London March 21 TASS—Britain reaffirms its support for the reform process in Russia, following

President Boris Yeltsin's televised address to the nation, a British Foreign Office spokesman told ITAR-TASS on Saturday [20 March].

Britain and other G7 members are now jointly taking measures for a further assistance to Russia, the spokesman added.

"We have been following developments closely in Russia over the last few days," the Foreign Office said in a statement.

It said Prime Minister John Major and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd had been keeping closely in touch with Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

"We have heard President Yeltsin's statement this evening and we welcome the Russian Government's continued commitment to democracy and civil rights."

The statement said: "The British Government has always supported the process of reform in Russia. We and our G-7 partners have been concerting closely on ways to continue that support. We reaffirm our support for the reform process."

Danish, EC Support

LD2103151393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1501 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Brussels March 21 TASS—Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen, who heads the Council of Ministers of the European Community, has come out in support of President Boris Yeltsin and expressed hope that the Russian president would be able to continue and strengthen reforms.

The Danish foreign minister's statement, circulated here on Sunday [21 March], says that he regards measures taken by Yeltsin as a signal that this is precisely what he is going to do. Petersen said that Denmark and the European Community had consistently supported the course of political and economic reforms in Russia and that they would do so in future.

Italian Statement

LD2103021793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0003 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Startsev]

[Text] Rome, 21 Mar—"The Italian Government voices great hope that the decisions made by President Yeltsin will not lead to serious political difficulties in Russia"—this was indicated in a statement from the Italian Foreign Ministry circulated here Saturday [20 March] evening after B. Yeltsin's televised address to the citizens of Russia. The document also indicates that the Italian Government is satisfied with Russian leadership's intention "to ensure the holding of democratic elections, to guarantee fundamental human rights, and to continue the policy of agreements and cooperation with the West."

Austria's Mock Comments

LD2103143093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1423 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozlov]

[Text] Vienna March 21 TASS—The Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock has come out in support of "special rule" declared by Russian President Boris Yeltsin until the power crisis in Russia is overcome.

In a nationwide radio address on Sunday [21 March], Mock has called for all- around support to the head of the Russian state in order to ensure the chance of further development of democracy in Russia.

Mock said that, at present, the choice has to be made in the long run between democratically elected Boris Yeltsin and the non-democratically elected Congress of People's Deputies based on "Brezhnev's Constitution."

The Austrian foreign minister said that the present situation in Russia was extremely dangerous and that the West could not avoid expressing its clear-cut and unambiguous attitude.

Austria's Busek Interviewed

LD2103225493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1910 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozlov]

[Text] Vienna, 21 Mar—Austrian Vice Chancellor Erhard Busek has expressed support for Boris Yeltsin, head of the Russian state, in his fight to strengthen presidential power. In an interview to the AUSTRIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, APA, he voiced the hope that the Russian president would be able to establish true democracy through the measures that he announced.

In the present situation, noted Busek, there is a threat to stability, not only in Russia but in the whole of Europe. In connection with this, the vice chancellor criticized Western countries that, in his view, failed to provide due assistance to the Russian president's efforts carry out political and socioeconomic transformations. State visits and statements of approval alone are not enough to bring about fundamental changes in Russia, the Austrian politician stressed.

After the collapse of Western peacemaking efforts in the former Yugoslavia, one cannot but see signs of a new imminent danger, said Busek, concluding that it was still not too late to move from empty statements to constructive actions.

Finnish Statement

LD2203074593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0739 GMT 22 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Helsinki March 22 TASS—The government of Finland published on Sunday [21 March] evening a brief statement which expresses support for the process of reforms in Russia. The document, which was adopted at a meeting of members of the cabinet of ministers with President Mauno Koivisto, notes that President Boris Yeltsin plays a key role in this process. Finland expressed the hope that reforms will be continued in Russia in spite of the tense political situation. According to the Finnish Government, this will lead to the stabilization of the course towards democracy and transition to the market economy.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Comments

LD2103183193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1724 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Zhirnikhin]

[Text] Budapest March 21 TASS—After President Boris Yeltsin's address to Russian citizens the position of the Hungarian Government has not changed, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said in an interview with Hungarian Radio on Sunday [21 March].

The Hungarian Cabinet of Ministers still supports President Yeltsin as the chief initiator and defender of democratic transformations in Russia, the Hungarian foreign minister said.

EBRD President Sends Letter

LD2203041293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1929 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Yezhov]

[Text] London, 21 Mar—Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), which was set up to render assistance to market reforms in the countries of Eastern Europe, today sent a letter to Russian President Boris Yeltsin expressing firm support.

The message from the leader of the EBRD, which is headquartered in London, says, in particular: "At this critical time for Russia, I would like to assure you of my firm support for the courageous efforts made by your government in implementing democratic and economic reforms, and also to express hope for an early agreement to overcome the constitutional crisis along the lines of further strengthening Russia's movement toward democracy and its ability to implement market reforms, taking into account the protection of human rights and social justice.

"I hope to have the opportunity to discuss in person all these issues with you and your government in the course of my visit to Moscow on 29 March."

Asian Countries Express Support for Yeltsin, Reform

Japan Wants Continued Reforms

LD2103062993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0618 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo March 21 TASS—The government of Japan on Sunday [21 March] reaffirmed support for the reform policy being effected by President Boris Yeltsin of Russia and expressed hope that the reforms will be carried on with the backing of the Russian people.

High-placed government sources, when setting out in an ITAR-TASS interview Tokyo's official point of view on the Yeltsin-announced special regulations, said "the government of Japan supported all the reforms being carried out so far by President Yeltsin in politics, economics and diplomacy. We hope very much that the policy will be carried on."

ROK Hopes for Progress

LD2103151593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1503 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[Text] Seoul March 21 TASS—South Korea considers finding ways of overcoming political difficulties of a transitional period and ensuring stability in the country to be Russia's internal problem to be resolved by the Russian people itself, said a brief statement by a spokesman for the South Korean foreign minister on Sunday [21 March], following President Yeltsin's announcing special rule until the crisis of power in Russia was overcome.

According to the spokesman, the Seoul Government "wants Russia to continue efforts on accord with its people aimed at democratization and transition to the market economy in the framework of political and economic reforms, launched by the government of President Boris Yeltsin elected by the people."

Kozyrev Continues Talks With Finnish Foreign Minister

LD1903134293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1330 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Surikov and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Rovaniemi (Northern Finland) March 19 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's two-day working visit to Finland is ending today.

Andrey Kozyrev's dialogue with his Finnish counterpart Paavo Vaeyrynen continues both at the negotiating table and during a cross-country ski-race, as well as at meetings at the check-point on the Russo-Finnish border and during visits to the "Rohmoiva" tourist hostel. The two ministers discuss the whole complex of Russo-Finnish relations.

One of the important problems is the opening of new check-points on the border, providing dwellings and amenities in the frontier areas and construction of resort-and-tourist complexes there.

In reply to journalists' questions, Andrey Kozyrev said it is no mere chance that he arrived at this district. "I wanted to see everything with my own eyes as despite the fact that the political decision, specifically on new check-points, has been made, its practical implementation does not move forward. Certainly, the main problem is the financing of joint projects, and the Finnish side is prepared to meet us half-way." All is retarded "somewhere at another place in Moscow". It is necessary to find the door which could be opened with the key we are having now in our hands, the Russian minister stressed.

Today the talks between the two foreign ministers are ending in the Kittila settlement. The Russian foreign minister will leave for Helsinki and then to Moscow.

Returns to Moscow

LD1903170793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1556 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Helsinki, 19 Mar—Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has completed his visit to Finland. As head of the Russian delegation he participated in the second session of the Council of Baltic States which took place here. Then, according to his two-day working program, he visited Finnish Lapland where he held negotiations with Paavo Vaeyrynen, his Finnish colleague, in an unofficial atmosphere. This evening Andrey Kozyrev left Helsinki for Moscow.

Notes 'Painful Impressions'

OW2103111993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1010 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said on Friday [19 March] evening that his working visit to Finland had given him some "painful impressions." He was referring to the continuous weakening of Russian-Finnish economic relations due to obstacles raised by medium-echelon officials in Moscow, in particular those in the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry, who were putting up "corporate resistance" to cooperation between the two countries.

He told Russian reporters that this had become clear to him when he visited the border crossing point at Salla, which still had no modern checkpoint facilities, whereas 13 families of border guards and customs officers had still not been provided with decent accommodation.

The Finns were offering help, Kozyrev said, but "corrupt" Russian bureaucrats preferred to have visitors cadging favors from them. He specifically meant officials from the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry. "Let there be a scandal but that is better than disgrace," he said.

Commenting on the results of the second session of the Baltic Council, held in Helsinki on March 16 and 17, Kozyrev voiced satisfaction with the fact that the Russian proposal for appointing a commissioner for human rights and national minorities at the Baltic Council had been approved in principle. He said, "It is an alarming fact that the Baltic states resist international inspection," which provided reasons to assume that they had "a skeleton in the cupboard."

He said the situation in Lithuania was much better in that respect than that in Estonia or Latvia, although Moscow still had some problems to solve with Vilnius.

New Zealand Prime Minister Continues Visit

Meets With Rutskoy

OW1903153293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1422 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The debt of the former USSR to New Zealand was one of the main themes discussed at Friday's [19 March] meeting between Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy and New Zealand's Prime Minister James Bolger. The two leaders had already discussed the problem two weeks earlier during the Russian vice-president's visit to Wellington. No solution has yet been found to the problem of the Russian debt, which totals about $200 million.

INTERFAX has learned from well-informed sources that this round of negotiations was more successful. During earlier conversations between Bolger, Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, and Foreign Economic Relations Minister Sergey Glaziev, an agreement on principle issues was reached in the debt problem.

In particular, a proposal was made to fix a concrete schedule for the payment of the debt in installments. Part of the debt to New Zealand's businessmen will be paid off by affording them participation in privatization of light industry and the establishment of joint-stock joint ventures in Russia.

According to Russian Vice-Presidential Press Secretary Vasiliy Titov, the Rutskoy-Bolger meeting approved the 18 March agreement on direct air service between Russia

and New Zealand. Rutskoy believes that the first non-stop flight from New Zealand may be to Khabarovsk or Vladivostok.

Touching on next Friday's meeting between the Russian president and the New Zealand prime minister, Rutskoy called upon Bolger to "demonstrate support for Boris Yeltsin and his reforms." Bolger, for his part, made it clear that such was his intent.

Received by Yeltsin

LD1903164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1531 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar—A meeting took place this afternoon between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and New Zealand Prime Minister James Bolger, who is visiting the Russian capital. The president of Russia informed the guest about the political situation in the country.

According to the Russian Federation president's press service, bilateral cooperation was discussed during the meeting.

Bolger Comments on Meeting

OW1903175593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1717 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] New Zealand Prime Minister James Bolger told journalists after talks Friday [19 March] with the Russian President that Boris Yeltsin admitted the existence of "certain friction" between himself and parliament. Bolger said that Yeltsin spoke of his intention to overcome these frictions in compliance with democratic standards and practice.

Bolger noted that significant progress had been made in settling the Russian debt to New Zealand which amounts, according to some sources, to $200 Mn. During Bolger's stay in Moscow agreements were reached on additional supplies of New Zealand butter to Russia and direct air links between the two countries.

Bolger said that possible sales of Russian weapons in the Asian Pacific region in order to counter the possible reduction of the security level was not discussed. The countries in the region do not have strong armed forces and therefore there is no question of decreased security, the premier added.

'Fully Satisfied' With Visit

LD1903231993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2156 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—I am fully satisfied with my visit to Moscow, James Bolger, prime minister of New Zealand, told a news conference here on Friday [19 March]. In the course of his three-day stay in the Russian capital, he was received by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, vice-president Aleksandr Rutskoy, had talks with his Russian counterpart Viktor Chernomyrdin and members of the government. According to the New Zealand premier, the talks were passing in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The purpose of my visit to Russia was to make relations between our states more concrete. They received significant impulse during the recent visit of the Russian vice-president to New Zealand. I am glad that my visit adds to that of the Russian vice-president, the prime minister of New Zealand stressed.

James Bolger said that a number of important issues were discussed in the course of his talks in Moscow. Both sides concentrated special attention on their possibilities in the field of bilateral trade. They also touched on the issue on the development of the process of democratisation in Russia and the joint responsibility which Russia and New Zealand are bearing as members of the U.N. Security Council.

The two sides gained considerable progress at the talks in the settlement of the issue concerning Russia's debt. We managed to agree as to how payments will be made and how trade between our countries will develop in the future, the New Zealand prime minister noted. According to him, both sides now feel satisfaction with the progress achieved. In this connection, he particularly appreciated the support from Aleksandr Rutskoy and Viktor Chernomyrdin in the settlement of these issues.

Speaking on his meeting with the Russian president, James Bolger said that Boris Yeltsin will be remembered in New Zealand and in the whole world as the man who defended democracy by the Russian White House. During the meeting, the head of the Russian state expressed confidence that he will be able to regulate relations with the Supreme Soviet so that they corresponded to democratic rules and practice.

In reply to journalists' questions the New Zealand prime minister noted that New Zealand is also ready to begin trade with other Commonwealth countries if it finds the possibilities for that. James Bolger called an agreement on air service with Russia symbolic saying that it does not envisage flights in the near future. However, the fact of signing this document means that New Zealand has believed in the victory of democracy in Russia, the New Zealand prime minister pointed out.

James Bolger confirmed that the situation in former Yugoslavia was also discussed during his talks in Moscow. Having reminded that New Zealand now presides over the U.N. Security Council, he highly estimated efforts of Russian diplomacy in the settlement of the Yugoslav conflict calling them balanced and constructive.

No Reply by Yeltsin to Shevardnadze Letter

LD1903171693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1345 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The worsening Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, the details of which we are constantly covering, is taking on an increasingly dramatic character—for Russia as well. Tbilisi continues to accuse the Russian military of undertaking military operations on the side of Abkhazia. Next to me at the moment is observer Yevgeniy Shirokov, who is following the development of events. Over to you.

[Shirokov] Unfortunately, the development of those events is proceeding along the route of intensifying confrontation. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Yevgeniy Petrovich, is there anything new regarding the letter that Shevardnadze sent the Russian president two days ago?

[Shirokov] Well, great hopes are being pinned on that step by the head of Georgia. The letter expresses the conviction that, despite the difficult political situation in Russia, President Yeltsin will make use of every possibility to save Russo-Georgian relations. Eduard Amvrosiyevich voiced his readiness to come to Moscow for a personal meeting.

But I have just called the Georgian Embassy in Moscow, and I was told that no reply to the letter had been received so far.

I was also told that the latest round, the fourth, of the Georgian-Russian talks in Moscow, which have not been broken off despite the acuteness of the situation, was concluded today. We will keep track of further events.

Government Statement Reaffirms Neutrality in Abkhazia

LD2003140493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1140 GMT 20 Mar 93

["'Text' of Russian Government statement on the neutrality of Russian troops in the Conflict Zone"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 20 March—Over the last few days the situation surrounding Russian Federation military sub-units and installations located in the zone of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict has deteriorated sharply. In conditions under which military actions against the Russian troops have been set in motion, the Georgian side has launched a hostile political and propaganda campaign. Moreover, aggressive actions are being undertaken that are posing a threat to the lives of servicemen and members of their families. Although the Russian military sub-units are continuing strictly to observe their neutrality and are not taking part in any military actions, unfounded accusations of their involvement in bombings and other military actions in the conflict zone are being made against them.

In spite of repeated protestations by the Georgian side that they are not firing upon Russian positions, and our appeals and warnings on this matter, the seismic laboratory and military institution of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense in Sukhumi and Eshera were again subjected to artillery fire by armed Georgian units on 17 March. Five of the civilian staff were killed and eight wounded.

The Russian Government condemns this criminal military act, which led to the deaths of Russian citizens, and demands that the guilty be called to account for their actions. The Georgian side must immediately put a stop to such armed provocations and stop their slanderous campaign against Russian servicemen.

Rebutting these unfounded accusations, the government states with all responsibility that Russian military sub-units and servicemen are rigidly adhering to their neutrality and are not involved in military actions in the conflict zone.

The blame for the fact that the conflict continues and is growing more acute should not be shifted to Russia itself or the Russian servicemen. Reliance on military force and the unwillingness of both sides in the conflict to cease fire and sit down at the negotiating table to discuss a peaceful settlement is the reason for the senseless and inhuman bloodshed. The Russian Government calls on both sides involved in the conflict, as well the leadership of Georgia and Abkhazia, to immediately stop military actions, take practical steps to establish a dialogue, and restart the negotiating process on the basis of the final document adopted at the Moscow meeting on 3 September, 1992. This procedure is approved by the United Nations and all the world community. We are prepared to do everything in order to help reach a peaceful solution. In its relations with the Republic of Georgia, the Russian Federation is invariably guided by the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Georgian state. The Abkhazian conflict can and should be solved by way of a political settlement, which should be based on respect for the legal rights and interests of both the Georgian and Abkhazian peoples.

Defense Minister Comments on Russian Pilot's Death

LD2003111793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1010 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Mar—"Hostile operations by the Georgian side vis-a-vis Russian troops stationed in the zone of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict are continuing. Of late these operations have been assuming an increasingly dangerous nature," Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev told journalists today. Grachev said that there remain no doubts that "certain circles in Georgia are undertaking ever more persistent attempts to draw

Russian troops into the armed conflict." To this end all means, right up to forgeries and provocations, are being used.

Grachev cited as evidence of this the use of Russian emblems and identification markings by Georgian Su-25 ground-attack aircraft which of late have been striking the seismic laboratory and military sanatorium of the Defense Ministry of the Russian Federation in Eshery and Sukhumi. As a result, as has already been reported, people have been killed and injured.

Commenting on the circumstances, in which Vatslav Shipko, a major of the Russian Air Force, was killed, Grachev said: "Early in the morning of 19 March, after receiving information about two air targets heading toward Sukhumi, a Russian fighter-interceptor Su-27, manned by pilot first class Major Shipko, scrambled to cover Russian armed forces installations on Abkhazian territory and to prevent possible pirate actions. It must be emphasized that this type of aircraft is not intended to deliver ground strikes. That type of plane is armed only for air engagements. On the way back to base after fulfilling the task, according to the preliminary data, the plane was shot down by Georgian air-defense forces and fell several kilometers away from Sukhumi. Pilot Major Shipko was killed."

Grachev emphasized that the Georgian leadership "intentionally tries to present this fact as evidence of the participation of the Russian Air Force in bombarding Sukhumi." Moreover, Grachev said that: "the command of the Russian Armed Forces categorically rejects these fabrications and expresses a resolute protest to the Georgian side."

Further Remarks

LD2003175693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Barkhatov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to a report from Abkhazia, the Russian Defense Ministry commission was permitted to inspect the site of the crash of the Russian SU-27 fighter aircraft at 0800 hours today. The last communications session was broken off yesterday with the pilot's words: altitude 800 meters; I cannot see the target beneath the clouds. This is recorded in a note at the Flight Control Office. The black box has not yet been found.

Following the tragic incident, the following statement was made:

[Begin Defense Minister Pavel Grachev recording] Following the report of two air targets flying towards Sukhumi, a Russian SU-27 interceptor fighter was ordered into the air—piloted by first class pilot Major Shipko—in order to cover Russian Armed Forces' facilities on Abkhazia's territory and to prevent possible pirate actions. It should be emphasized that this type of aircraft is not designed to inflict strikes against ground targets. It was carrying only weaponry for aerial combat.

On its way back to the airfield where it was based, after fulfilling its assignment, the aircraft was, according to preliminary data, shot down by Georgian anti-aircraft defense forces and fell 11 km northwest of Sukhumi. The pilot, Maj. Shipko, was killed.

The Georgian leadership is deliberately trying to present this fact allegedly as evidence of the Russian Air Forces' involvement in bombing Sukhumi. The leadership of Russia's Armed Forces categorically denies such fabrications and issues a strong protest to the Georgian side. [end recording]

Delay in Accord on Gas Deliveries to Ukraine Explained

OW1903153093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1422 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [19 March] competent sources close to the leadership of the Gasprom concern reported to Interfax that the statement of the Ukrainian Vice Premier Vasly Yevtukhov saying that the agreed documents on prices for Russian gas and tariffs for its transportation via Ukraine's territory have not been signed during bilateral negotiations in Moscow "due to the political situation in Russia" has nothing in common with reality.

According to these sources, Kiev expressed dissatisfaction with the Moscow-proposed price for natural gas, namely, 27,600 rubles per 1000 cubic meters. To this effect the Ukrainian party decided to revise tariffs for transit of Russian gas. In addition, Kiev has not agreed to Moscow's proposal to sign documents on gas as a single package of documents containing other agreements, in particular, on free trade between the two republics.

Interfax has learned that the time for the final signing of the Russian-Ukrainian documents on gas has been limited to June 30, when the agreements are to go into effect.

Free Trade System Established With Azerbaijan

MK1903121493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 18 Mar 93 p 10

[Konstantin Smirnov report: "Russian-Azerbaijani Agreements. Russia and Azerbaijan Agree on Free Trade Regime"]

[Text] The latest round of the Russian-Azerbaijani talks on trade and economic cooperation ended yesterday with the signing of a protocol "On Implementing the Agreement Between the Russian Federation Government and the Azerbaijani Republic Government on Trade and Economic Cooperation in 1993," which effectively brings into operation a free trade regime between

the two countries. The protocol was signed by Russian Economy Minister Andrey Nechayev and Azerbaijani First Vice Premier Vakhid Akhmedov.

As KOMMERSANT-DAILY wrote at the beginning of March, trade and economic cooperation between Russia and Azerbaijan are defined by a number of intergovernmental treaties signed by the sides on 30 September 1992. The actual introduction of a free trade regime, however, was dragged out right until the middle of March. The most complex problem, according to Rauf Aliyev, deputy authorized representative of the Azerbaijani Republic, was agreeing on a list of quantitatively regulated commodities to be delivered within the framework of the 1993 agreement on trade and economic cooperation. In Mr. Aliyev's opinion, the i's were dotted and the t's crossed as a result of the unofficial contacts between Azerbaijani representatives and Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin and his deputy Aleksandr Shokhin during the session of the Council of CIS Heads of State on 12 March in Moscow.

The 17 March signing in Moscow of the protocol on implementing the trade and economic agreement, which includes agreed lists of permitted quotas for deliveries from both Russia and Azerbaijan as well as the commodities to be reciprocally delivered on an equivalent basis, brings into operation a regime that presupposes that the sides will mutually waive import customs duties and export customs duties on commodities to be reciprocally delivered. Azerbaijan is primarily interested in receiving from Russia nonferrous metals and grain (an understanding was reached that Russia will let Azerbaijan have part of its Kazakhstan grain quota), and Russia in receiving oil refining products and food and food commodities.

Experts rate the signing of the protocol as an extremely curious precedent: Azerbaijan, not being a CIS member, has in its bilateral relations with Russia secured the creation of better preconditions for the development of trade and economic ties than, for example, CIS member Ukraine.

Arms To Be Supplied to Turkey in Payment of Debt

LD1903144093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1344 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Feoktistov]

[Text] Ankara, 19 Mar—A protocol on supplies of Russian armaments to Turkey was signed in the Turkish capital today. According to the agreement, Russia will sell Turkey helicopters, armored troop carriers, and other kinds of weapons to the sum of $75 million, of which $60 million will be used for repaying the Russian debt to the Turkish export-import bank, while $15 million will be paid in foreign currency.

Cooperation Treaties Signed With Turkey

MK2003113893 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 19 Mar 93 p 10

[Anton Antonov-Ovsiyenko report: "Russian Businessmen in Istanbul. Results of Visit Are Concrete Agreements]

[Text] Members of a delegation of the Black Sea Cooperation Association (KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported its trip to Turkey on 11 March), who returned from Istanbul on the evening of 17 March, yesterday told your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent about the concrete results of the visit.

Aleksandr Vladislavlev, who led the Black Sea Cooperation Association delegates on a seven-day trip around Turkey, assessed the visit's results as "on the whole, positive." At a meeting in Ankara with Turkish Deputy Foreign Minister Ismet Birsel, Vladislavlev managed, among other things, to negotiate an agreement on the further expansion of bilateral contacts between Russian and Turkish entrepreneurs. The delegation also included Vyacheslav Kopyev, vice president of the Black Sea Cooperation Association; Viktor Mishin, general director; Aleksey Gumilevskiy, chief of a Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations administration; and Iosif Ordzhonikidze, vice premier of Moscow. Talking with your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent, Aleksandr Vladislavlev stressed that "economic cooperation with Turkey also has political importance, because Turkey has been carrying out reforms in recent years that are in essence similar to what is happening in our country." Vyacheslav Kopyev also told me that during the talks with Turkish entrepreneurs they succeeded in concluding a number of concrete agreements in the development of tourism, in banking, and also in supplies of food and consumer goods. Iosif Ordzhonikidze signed a contract to build a four-star hotel in downtown Moscow.

[Report incorporates the following boxed text]

Results of the Visit to Turkey by the Black Sea Cooperation Association Delegation

—Contracts concluded with the YaY Tours and Sezginler companies on an exchange of goods including supplies from Turkey to Russia of clothing, footwear, and food products;

—A contract concluded with the Atlantis company on exchanges including the purchases by the Turkish side in Russia of steamships, airplanes, and timber industry products;

—A contract concluded with the Kiska Group on starting the construction of a four-star hotel in downtown Moscow;

—Contracts concluded with the Baldem and Boumerang companies on joint work in the area of providing charter services and agent activity;

—An understanding reached with municipal representatives of the port city of Eregli on joint work to create a free economic zone there.

Embassy in Greece Denies UN Embargo Violation

LD2003181893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] The Russian Embassy in Greece has denied a report in the local press that Russian vessels violated the UN embargo against Serbia. This is contained in an embassy statement published in the Greek media today. According to the embassy's information, the two vessels that were detained by Greek authorities in Salonika and which were accused of violating the sanctions—the Dnepr 1 and Dnepr 2—actually belong to the Ukrainian Ukrrechflot company and not to Russia.

The Ukrainian Consulate, for its part, has denied that the vessels violated the embargo. Iron from Serbia was loaded onto the vessels in the Greek port of Salonica. Consequently, there can be no talk of Ukraine violating the embargo, the consulate stated.

Presidential Rule Declared

Yeltsin Decrees 'Special Regime of Government'

LD2003190093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1830 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Speech by President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow on 20 March—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Fellow Citizens, I promised you that I would speak on the results of the Congress. Over this period, much has had to be analyzed, certain forecasts have had to be made, and difficult decisions have had to be made. Today I am keeping the promise I made to you. I would like to give an assessment of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies and tell you how I intend to act from here on.

In recent days, a great deal has indeed had to be discussed and assessed anew. Today I want to tell you honestly and frankly what has been decided and what decisions have been made, how I propose to act, and what I propose undertaking—taking into account the situation that has arisen in the country.

You elected me president in June 1991 and entrusted me to lead the state of the Russian Federation. At that time—for the first time in the thousand year history of the country—a choice was made, a choice of head of state, and a choice of the path that Russia would take.

The choice was extremely acute and crucial—either to continue sliding into the communist cul-de-sac or to begin profound reforms in order to proceed along the road of progress, along which the whole of civilized mankind is proceeding.

Thanks to you, esteemed compatriots, the real transformations have begun in the country. By our joint efforts, new forms of life are affirming themselves in Russia; however, this is far too slow and far too difficult. The country cannot live any longer in the environment of a constant crisis of power. With such a waste of forces, we will never pull ourselves out of poverty. We will never ensure peace and quiet for our citizens.

It is crystal clear today that the root of all problems is not in the conflict between the legislative and executive powers; nor is it in the conflict between the Congress and the president. The essence is deeper, and it is elsewhere—in a profound contradiction between the people and the former Bolshevik, anti-popular system that has not yet disintegrated, that aspires again today to recoup its lost authority over Russia.

The Eighth Congress was in essence a dress rehearsal of revenge on the part of the former party nomenklatura. They simply want to deceive the people. We hear lies in constant oaths of loyalty to the Constitution. From congress to congress it is being mauled, recarved to suit one's own interests. Blow after blow is being dealt to the very foundation of the constitutional system, to people's power; or the Constitution is simply disregarded in making decisions, as was often the case during the work of the Eighth Congress.

We hear lies in constant references to the views of the electorate and in oaths of loyalty to democracy. Meanwhile, the people were arrogantly denied the right to determine their destiny for themselves. The Congress buried the referendum on citizens' ownership of land, and it buried the April referendum on the foundations of a new constitution. I want to tell you that it evaded, in a simply cowardly manner, resolving the question of early elections.

Imperial ideology reigned supreme at the Congress. If it becomes the basis of policy, Russia will inevitably be drawn into armed conflicts with all the former Union republics. Cold War slogans could be heard loudly now and again at the Congress. In his concluding speech the speaker, in fact, called for resuming the Cold War. The implications are clear: a return to the arms race, growing military expenditures, and a global confrontation with the whole world.

Tragically, power weakened as a result of the Congress, and Russia weakened as well. The delimitation of powers as a constitutional principle has, in fact, been abolished. The last remaining barriers on the way to the omnipotence of the Congress, of the soviets, and of the parliament have been removed. Both the Congress and the Supreme Soviet now declare all their decisions legitimate and constitutional. There is nobody to stop them, to keep them from ruling arbitrarily. The Constitutional Court has not yet taken a principled position in this critical situation. The massacre of the foundations of the constitutional order is happening under the Court's very eyes and has not found any rebuff thus far.

So, let us summarize. The Eighth Congress allowed, in fact, the leadership of the Supreme Soviet to set in motion the flywheel of the anti-constitutional coup, based on a drummed-up exacerbation of contradictions in the Constitution. Though the government received some token powers, it is very unlikely to be able to operate properly. The Supreme Soviet, as before, has sole control over the bank and nonbudget assets. If this is not stopped, the financial crisis will continue to be exacerbated, and the confusion with payments, the payment of wages, recomputation of pensions, excessive taxation, and so on will continue.

It is as if Russia has two governments—one the constitutional government; the other, the Supreme Soviet. They are pursuing fundamentally different policies. To agree to this is tantamount to agreeing that the life of our citizens should be excruciating and hard and that the economy should be even more deformed and vulnerable. It is not possible to govern the country and its economy—especially during a time of crisis—by voting, by rejoinders at the microphone, by parliamentary shop talk, and by holding rallies. This is anarchy, a direct path towards chaos and the death of Russia.

I do not know whether deputies understand this, but I am sure that those who staged the Eighth Congress—the employees of the former CPSU Central Committee apparatus who have found their niche within the Supreme Soviet structures and are working there—are well aware of this. In the Congress and in the Supreme Soviet, it is precisely they who currently rule the roost.

What is more, one cannot permit the old party nomenklatura to again reign in Russia. Russia will not survive a second October Revolution. This would be plunging into the abyss. Russia will no longer endure if there is a return to excessive constraints on the economy.

Over the course of decades, the country lived, as it were, in debt, recklessly draining its natural resources at the expense of future generations. At the same time, however, the Bolshevik system, during its best years, managed to provide basic food, but not for the whole of Russia, but only for the capital. This was done with the dollars that they received from oil.

The main vice of this system was the desire to command everything and everyone, to stifle any sign of initiative and independence. It did not matter whether it concerned a man's right to work his own land, engage in free enterprise, or express his own point of view. This is where they are calling us; this is where they would like to drive us again.

You, esteemed fellow citizens, know that I honestly sought a compromise before and during the Congress. Despite the intrigues, despite the insults and coarse remarks, the whole path was followed to its end. All the attempts to find a consensus have led only to the Congress discrediting authority, breaking up the state. The Congress is trying to restrict the president and his efforts to give land to the people and preserve Russia. The opportunities for finding consensus with the conservative majority in the corps of deputies have been completely exhausted.

I must say, frankly, that nothing occurred that was unexpected by me; nor, I think, was it unexpected by you, esteemed compatriots. I was also prepared for this turn of events. The Congress refused to hear the voice of the country. It rejected the opinions of the overwhelming majority of voters. The Congress, however, is still not the state. The Congress is not Russia. In these conditions, the president is compelled to assume responsibility for the country's future. It is my state responsibility as president, in the conditions of the radical transformations now taking place in Russia, to ensure that the very foundations of the constitutional system are observed - and above all, democracy, federalism, the division of authorities, and the rights and liberties of the individual. It is my state responsibility as President to ensure that the unity and integrity of the Russian Federation, and interethnic accord in the country, are preserved.

I, as president of Russia, have a state duty to ensure that the transformations progress further. I see in all this my own civil and patriotic duty, and indeed my duty as a human being. For this reason, following many consultations, I have made this decision: Today I signed a decree on a special regime of government until the crisis of power has been overcome [ob osobom poryadke upravleniya do preodoleniya krizisa vlasti]. In accordance with the decree, a vote of confidence in the president and vice president of the Russian Federation is set for 25 April 1993. Special decrees and instructions will be adopted over the whole range of questions of its organization. I have opted for this step because I was elected not by the Congress, nor by the Supreme Soviet, but by the people. It is up to the people to decide whether I should continue to fulfil my duties and who it that who is to govern the country—the president and vice president, or the Congress of People's Deputies.

At the same time as a vote of confidence in the president, a vote on the new draft constitution and the draft law on the election of a federal Parliament will be held. They are also submitted by the president and come into force if the citizens of Russia support the president and the vice president.

In accordance with the constitution that you will approve and the new law on elections, elections will be held. These will not be elections for the Congress, but for Russia's new Parliament. In accordance with the new Constitution, there will be no congress. Until new elections, the Congress and the Supreme Soviet will not be dissolved, their work will not be suspended. The powers of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation are to stay in place. However, in accordance with the decree, any decisions by bodies and officials directed toward revoking or suspending presidential decrees and directives, as well as government resolutions, will be invalid. Any decisions, made by whatever bodies or officials on the territory of Russia, that encroach on the foundations of the constitutional structure shall not be implemented.

The decree gives specific instructions to the Government and ministries aimed at ensuring stable functioning of the national economy, ensuring public order, and protection of vital installations. As supreme commander in chief I have issued an order to the Ministry of Defense not to allow the army to be used for political purposes. I confirm that concern for the armed forces and for servicemen will continue to be one of the most important tasks of the Russian state. I would like to stress, in particular, that the decree guarantees observance of human rights and liberties in full measure. Their protection by the courts is not being restricted in any manner. The Federative Treaty remains in force and remains an integral part of the Constitution. No restrictions on the sovereignty of the republics which form part of the Russian Federation are conceivable.

I officially confirm that Russia intends to continue to observe all its international obligations. A real threat to the freedom of speech again emerged at the Eighth Congress. These are not the first attempts to tame the mass media, especially television. I have signed decrees on protecting the freedom of mass information and on

guarantees of information stability. As president, I take upon myself the protection of the mass information media and confirm that guarantees of their freedom will be ensured in the Russian state. I have also signed other decrees to stabilize the situation in Russia in the conditions of the special regime of government [osobyy poryadok upravleniya].

Esteemed citizens of Russia, I will be frank: I am minded to act resolutely. I think that there is no other way in the situation that has taken shape. If political squabbling is not halted, if no resolute measures are taken to resolve the political crisis, if no powerful momentum is given to the economic reforms, the country will be pushed into anarchy. Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has been instructed to present, within two days, a list of priority economic measures. The list should provide, first, for measures to resolve the land question; a simple and understandable mechanism for handing land over to citizens as private property is needed.

It is time for land privatization checks to be introduced. Work on a presidential decree on giving plots of land to Russian Federation citizens is being completed. It will provide an impetus to solving the entire complex of issues connected with land.

Second, the passing down of the rights required for implementing privatization should be accelerated. Guarantees should be given that privatization will be irreversible. The president himself is the main guarantor of this. For my part, I am drawing up a decree regulating the procedure for obtaining ownership of real estate [nedvizhimost].

Third, there will be support for many, many people who wish to start their own business—I am speaking about small and medium businesses. There will be support in the form of credits, preferential taxation, consultations, and organizational measures.

Fourth, growing unemployment is an most important issue. Public work, primarily for building housing and roads, should be organized. Employment guarantees for those working at state enterprises that go bankrupt should be enhanced.

Fifth, the struggle against inflation, the stabilization of the ruble market rate, and strict control over money supply. Percentage limits will be established.

Sixth, a decision has already been made to compensate losses to tens of millions of people whose deposits in savings banks lost their value during reforms.

In order to avoid whipping up inflation, compensations in the form of shares in enterprises, land, and other state property should be used more widely.

Seventh, imposing order in the provision of privileges and preferential terms for enterprises. Here we have lots of abuse and corruption. I shall shortly sign a decree on state service. It is to protect the state apparatus and, at the same time, to raise its responsibility.

Eighth, I ask the government to pay special attention to coordination in the actions of federal authorities on the one hand, and republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous entities on the other, in strict accordance with the Federal Treaty.

Generally speaking, let us not only carry out reforms, but also impose elementary order in Russia. Then we shall have real opportunities to give more help to pensioners, to families with many children, to single mothers, and to all those who now live in poverty and need support.

Another thing. The vertical chain of command for executive bodies in Russia has been restored. Heads of executive power and governments of the subjects to the Russian Federation are directly accountable to the president and to the Russian Government. Their powers cannot be suspended without a decision by the president of the Russian Federation.

At the same time, both at the center and locally, there have been quite a few instances of leaders of executive power hindering the implementation of political and economic reforms. I am warning about personal responsibility for such actions, and I will relieve the guilty ones of their posts. I have signed a decree on the responsibility of Russian Federation officials of executive power.

The heads of the administrations of Novosibirsk and Irkutsk Oblasts and a number of senior officials in the Russian Federation government have been relieved of their duties for breaches of legislation. It is not only the president who needs stability and order, and they are demanded by you, my electors, above all. It is a just demand, for otherwise we cannot make our state strong, democratic, and prosperous, and its citizens free.

I am counting on the support of the country's main political groupings. I shall continue my dialogue with them on a draft for a new constitution and implementation of economic reforms, and on how they can work together with the government.

Esteemed fellow citizens, I am proposing a way out of the crisis that is civilized and based on the fundamental tenets of the Constitution, without extreme or arbitrary measures, without tanks or barricades, without street rallies or strikes. You yourselves, the citizens of Russia, will decide everything by your vote. This will be your choice, the choice of the people. I am counting on your understanding of my actions, and I ask you to support your president. I believe I have your support.

Summary of Draft Decree

OW2103134693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1325 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The president's draft decree on special administration designed to overcome the government crisis in Russia is available to IF [INTERFAX]. It was submitted to the parliament's presidium by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy.

However the document bears no signature, and it is not clear whether Boris Yeltsin made amendments to the draft, when signing it, or not.

The provision of Yeltsin's televised address that the parliament and the congress are not dissolved before the new elections, that their work is not suspended, and that the Russian people's deputies retain their powers, is not cited in the text.

IF learned from the president's press service that so far they have no official texts of the president's decrees Yeltsin mentioned in his Saturday's [20 March] address.

Among the reasons for adopting the draft decree mentioned by the president in his Saturday's address the preamble contains the following one: the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic was constitutionally replaced by the Russian Federation - Russia, and the legitimacy of the federal governing and administrative bodies requires confirmation".

The draft decree stipulates (its points are abridged): 1. Voting on confidence in the president and vice president of the Russian Federation (RF) will take place on April 25, 1993.

Arrangements for the voting and the summing up of its results will be carried out in accordance with the rules established by the bill on presidential elections in the Russian Federation.

2. At the same time voting will be conducted on the draft of a new Constitution of the RF and on the elections of federal parliament.

The voting on confidence in the president and vice president will be viewed at the same time as voting for the Constitution and for the bill on elections submitted by the president. If confidence in the president and vice president is expressed, the Constitution and the bill on elections will come into force as soon as the central electoral commission announces the results of the voting.

3. In the period before the president's powers are confirmed and the new Constitution comes into force the President will: - take the necessary measures to protect the constitutional system; - ensure political stability in society; - protect the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation and its members; - take steps to maintain concord between ethnic groups and implement the Federal Treaty; - guarantee the ensurance of constitutional rights and freedoms; - take steps to ensure security for the people; - guarantee freedom for the activity of all parties and organizations, excluding those which aim to use force to alter the country's constitutional system, upset Russia's territorial integrity, undermine the country's security, form illegal armed units, incite social, ethnic or racial discord; - protect the freedom of the news media, and prevent the propaganda of and calls for changing the constitutional system by force.

4. The heads of executive bodies and governments of the members of the RF will be accountable directly to the president and to the government of the RF.

5. It is confirmed that human rights and freedoms will be fully safeguarded, that the RF's judicial and prosecuting systems will continue to function, that the administrative set-up will not change, and that the Federal Treaty will continue to be in force as a component of the Constitution.

All international commitments of the RF are confirmed.

6. The decisions of government bodies and officials aimed at cancelling or suspending the president's decrees and directives or the cabinet's resolutions will have no legal force and must not be obeyed.

7. The Council of Ministers-Government of the RF (led by V. Chernomyrdin) will be directly in charge of the country's economy and ensure its stable functioning.

The government will not allow the financing of measures not coordinated with it.

8. The Interior Ministry (under V. Yerin) and the Security Ministry (under V. Barannikov) will ensure law and order and protect economic facilities.

The Defence Ministry (under P. Grachev) will ensure the army's non-participation in political actions and assist the Interior Ministry and the Security Ministry in combating crime.

The Security Council (under Y. Skokov) will take steps to ensure interaction between the Interior, Security and Defence Ministries.

9. Vice President Rutskoy will monitor the implemention of Point 8 of the decree.

10. The Press and Information Ministry (under M. Fedotov) will use every measure stipulated by the bill on the news media to prevent the freedom of the news media from being misused.

11. Vice President Rutskoy, Prime Minister Chernomydin, the Interior, Security and Defence Ministers, the Minister of the Press and the head of the Security Council Y. Skokov will account for the steps designed to accomplish the tasks set before them within two days.

12. In the territories of members of the Russian Federation the measures aimed at implementing the decree will be carried out by the top-level officials, by the heads of executive authority.

13. The Foreign Ministry (under A. Kozyrev) will inform other countries through the U.N. Secretary General that

the special administration regime is not a state of emergency, and that the right to deviate from the commitments under the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights will not be used.

14. The decree comes into force from the moment of its publication.

Decree Not Signed by Security Official

OW2103181893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1727 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Interfax has learned from well-placed sources that no security official had signed the Presidential decrees on special administration in Russia, before it was announced on Saturday [20 March]. The same sources have reported that work continued as usual in the security and interior ministries on Sunday. A top security official has described the overall situation in the country on March 21 as on the whole quiet. Nothing special occurred, except two meetings in Moscow on Sunday.

Presidential Official Comments

LD2203160093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1405 GMT on 22 March carries a seven-minute recorded telephone conversation that Mayak Observer Yuliy Semenov "just had" with Vyacheslav Vasiliyevich Volkov, deputy chief of the president's apparatus.

Asked first where the president's decree is and whether it is to be published in tomorrow's press, Volkov responds: "In all probability it will not yet be in tomorrow because this document has not yet been produced for issue. It will, in all probability, come out tomorrow, but it will only get into the media the day after tomorrow".

Volkov comments on reaction from the regions as follows:

"The soviets have mainly been stepping up their activity over the statement by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and yesterday's decision passed by the Supreme Soviet. Smaller soviets have been meeting to express their attitude toward the president's address to the people. I believe—and our information demonstrates this—that the majority of soviets support the Supreme Soviet and are opposed to the president, while public organizations, particularly those of democratic inclination, and the bulk of the population, according to the assessment of representatives of the president, are taking a position of support for his address to the people."

Volkov says he has not seen the president today but does comment on his emotional state in light of the political crisis and personal loss, saying: "His emotional mood remains determined, just as it was before. Naturally he is deeply upset about the death of his mom. He has canceled all meetings today. He is assessing and considering the situation, but of course he is deeply upset."

Asked about the possibility of splits in the president's team following the remarks at the Supreme Soviet by Vice President Rutskoy and Security Council Secretary Yuriy Skokov, Volkov remarks:

"It seems to me that these people have placed themselves outside the president's team. There can be no team, or rather, you cannot regard yourself as a member of the team, if you don't keep to the president's line. You have the right to your own personal opinions, to your own personal specific actions, but if you do this, you should state that your are not on the president's team."

Volkov concludes optimistically that the mood within the president's apparatus is "normal, businesslike, and aimed at doing everything possible, and even the impossible—overcoming all the obstacles that will probably be erected by the Supreme Soviet, which is, by all appearances, not inclined to hold this poll—doing everything to hold it and to find out the view of the people. That is our duty."

Kostikov on 'President's Proposal'

LD2203125293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1130 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] We have just received the following statement by the Russian president's press secretary. It says:

The two days which have passed since President Yeltsin's address make it possible to draw the first conclusions about its significance and impact.

1. The public has received with understanding the president's proposal for ending the crisis. Workforces are noting, in particular, the complete solidarity of the government and the president, which ensures that the country and the economy are able to operate at their normal rhythm. The proposals which the president put to Russia's citizens in his address are meeting with increasingly widespread support in the country.

2. In accordance with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's order, the Army is refraining completely from interference in politics. In spite of the desire of certain Supreme Soviet circles to draw the military into confrontation, the Army is abiding by the law.

3. Attempts by the Supreme Soviet to whip up tension through hasty and juridically unjustified assessments is not finding any response from the public.

4. The hasty and one-sided position of the chairman of the Constitutional Court draws attention to itself. Against legal ethics, and before the Court has even considered the address and other documents, he has already given his assessment. As a result, the chairman of the Constitutional Court has, a priori, sided with one of the parties, thereby casting doubt on his impartiality.

5. The unanimous support of world public opinion, governments, and political leaders of modern, rule-of-law states for Yeltsin's proposals on ways to end the constitutional crisis again confirms the legality of the president's actions.

6. The reaction to the president's address to the people has clearly revealed the true supporters of democratic reform and has exposed those who, having occupied lofty state posts as a result of the president's victory in 1991, have failed the test of loyalty when the moment came to make a decisive choice.

Significance of Yeltsin's Appeal

OW2203125093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press-secretary of Russia's president has declared that the two days which have passed since Boris Yeltsin addressed the nation make it possible to draw first conclusions about the appeal's significance and effect.

Vyacheslav Kostikov's statement says that the population received the president's proposals on a way out of the crisis with understanding. Workers especially are showing full solidarity with the government and the president, which will keep a normal pace in the country and economy.

He emphasized that in keeping with Mr. Yeltsin's warrant, the army stayed totally out of politics. Despite the desire of some Supreme Soviet circles to draw the military into confrontation, the army is loyal to the law.

The statement points out that Supreme Soviet attempts "to whip up tension by hasty legally unfounded assessments gain no support among the population".

The press-secretary focussed on "the rushed one-sided position" of the Constitutional court's chairman, who as the statement points out,"in defiance of legal ethics gave his assessment" of the address and other documents even before their examination in the court. Thus, he "sided with one of the parties in advance and thereby put his impartiality in question", Kostikov declared.

In his opinion, "the unanimous support for Mr. Yeltsin's proposals by the world public, governments, and political leaders of law-abiding states reaffirm the legitimacy of the president's actions".

The reaction to the president's nation-wide address "has exposed the true supporters of democratic reform and those, who after promotion to high government posts in the wake of the president's victory in 1991, have not withstood the test of loyalty at the moment of crucial choice," Kostikov concludes.

Publication of Decree Delayed

OW2203160493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1555 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Interfax' sources in the Kremlin are attributing the delay in publishing the decree "On Special Rule Until the Overcoming of the Crisis of Power" to the "ambiguous situation produced by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's recent public statements."

Aleksandr Rutskoy's revelations of some of the working materials, especially his personal letter to the president, built up unwarranted tension. As a result, the source says, a new situation took shape with the president's proposal to hold a national referendum on April 25 and the voters having to express their confidence in the president and the vice- president, which now acquires ambiguous overtones.

Text of Yeltsin's Freedom of Information Decree Released

LD2203170193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1602 GMT 22 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar—The press service of the Russian Federation president today released the text of the president's decree of 20 March on the protection of the freedom of mass information. The decree says:

"For the purposes of averting the monopolization of the mass information media and unlawful interference in their activity, taking into consideration the real threat to the freedom of mass information guaranteed in the Russian Federation, I resolve:

1. The Russian mass information media and media of distribution of mass information come under the protection of the law and the president of the Russian Federation as the supreme official personage of the state. The president of the Russian Federation as guarantor of the rights and liberties of the individual ensures in coordination with the bodies of legislative, executive, and judicial power, the protection of the freedom of mass information in strict compliance with the Law of the Russian Federation "On the Mass Information Media."

Officials working in state bodies and organizations and public associations are to be notified of strict accountability for interference in the activity of editorial offices and violation of their professional independence, for forcing journalists to disseminate or not to disseminate information, and equally for infringement of the freedom of mass information perpetrated in other forms.

2. The Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs is to take the necessary measures to guard the state television and radio companies, news agencies, and publishing and printing facilities.

3. The Council of Ministers—Government of the Russian Federation:

is to provide for the subsidizing of local, especially rayon newspapers from the federal budget as requested by the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Information;

is within two weeks to regulate the system of allocation of frequencies for television and radio broadcasting and of opening and operation of printing enterprises;

is within one month to elaborate and ratify a provision on State Inspectorate for the Protection of the Freedom of the Press and Mass Information attached to the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Information.

4. The decree comes into force from the moment of its publication."

20 March Decree Ensures Freedom of Information

LD2203163893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1555 GMT 22 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—In cooperation with the legislative, executive, and judicial powers Russia's president will ensure the defense of freedom of mass information strictly in accordance with the Russian Federation Law "On the mass media." This is stated in a presidential decree that Boris Yeltsin signed on 20 March and which was released today by his press service.

The decree warns officials of state bodies and organizations, and public associations about "strict accountability for interference in the activity" and "undermining of the freedom" of the mass media.

The Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs has been instructed to take the necessary measures to protect state radio and television companies, information agencies, and publishing and printing complexes. The government has been instructed to make provision for subsidies to local, especially rayon, newspapers from the federal budget.

Rutskoy, Voronin, Zorkin, Stepankov Discuss Decree

LD2103001493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2140 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Studio discussion program with Russia's Vice President Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy; Yuriy Mikhaylovich Voronin, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet; Russia's Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Dmitriyevich Zorkin; and Russia's Procurator General Valentin Georgiyevich Stepankov; introduced by unidentified announcer—live]

[Text] [Rutskoy] Esteemed citizens of the Russian Federation. As Russia's vice president and a representative of executive power, I profoundly regret the events which occurred yesterday and today. I personally, the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of the Constitutional Court, have on several occasions made attempts to direct the development of events toward a policy of national consensus and a way out of the political and economic crisis.

However, as they say, what happened has happened.

I deem it necesary to address citizens of the Russian Federation, the bodies of law and order, the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Security, and the Ministry of Armed Forces [as heard] not to give way to provocations and not to dramatize the events. At the same time, I would also like to appeal to public and political movements and parties not to dramatize the events and not to create provocative situations. The state still has power, and everything that has happened is not as tragic and hopeless. There is a way out of this situation.

I do not intend to give a legal appraisal of the events that have happened. The Constitutional Court, the Supreme Soviet, and the Procuracy are there for that purpose. However, I think that the bodies of power will competently sort out all these questions that have arisen in our society today. I also believe that we shall overcome this critical situation, while at the same time realizing full well that such a situation cannot continue, both regarding economic and domestic political problems, and that the main objective of all th ose who will be speaking here today—and I have no doubt that the president's objective is the same—is to create a stable situation within society.

Therefore, I appeal to you once more to be composed, to follow closely all the events that are happening, and—the main thing—not to give in to provocative situations.

[Voronin] Esteemed citizens of Russia, from early this morning people's deputies started arriving at the Supreme Soviet. They learned that the presidential apparatus has been preparing the corresponding decree. The situation reached its peak in the afternoon. In my capacity of acting chairman of the Supreme Soviet I sent a letter to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. [Video shows Voronin reading from piece of paper]

Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, Russian Federation people's deputies have learned that a draft decree of the Russian president is being prepared which, in fact, suspends the work of the Congress of Russian People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, and the Russian Constitutional Court, and halts the functioning of representative bodies of the Russian Federation's subjects. This violates not only the Russian Constitution but also the constitutions of the republics within the Russian Federation, something which could result in the country's collapse and the loss of levers of running the economy.

I would ask you to weigh up once again all the possible consequences of the introduction of a special regime as an anti- constitutional action.

Unfortunately, the letter remains unanswered, and at 2130 [1830 GMT] today Boris Nikolayevich, the president, spoke on central television. We had to convene the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, which discussed the situation and adopted a decision to convene a sitting of the sixth session of the Russian Supreme Soviet at the House of the Soviets at 1600 [1300 GMT] tomorrow. Also, an appeal by the Supreme Soviet Presidium to citizens of the Russian Federation was adopted and it has been forwarded to the Russian Federation's subjects.

The essence of the appeal is that every citizen of Russia should consider it his constitutional duty to abide strictly and rigorosly by the Constitution and the laws presently in effect in the Russian Federation. All the peoples of the Russian Federation should first and foremost come out decisively in support of the Federation's constitutional foundations, and against the violation of the Federation Treaty, against the violation of their rights. The appeal stresses in particular that a dictatorship would mean the end of the Federation.

Therefore, today I would like to call on People's Deputies, in particular members of the Supreme Soviet, to come tomorrow at 1600 to the House of Soviets to take part in the session of the Supreme Soviet. I think that the Supreme Soviet session will give careful consideration to the appeal and the decree itself, signed by the president, and will adopt decisions worthy of a constitutional state.

[Zorkin] Citizens of the Russian Federation. In our country a constitution is in force which enshrines the principle of the division of powers. Therein our strong presidential powers, a strong parliament, and an independent judiciary authority. The Constitutional Court abides by this principle. At the same time, however, a crisis of political power has been developing, starting in particular from the spring of 1992. This was due to the fact that the authorities were to a significant degree unable to find a common language, and the confrontation grew.

In December it effectively reached its culmination, and the Court was compelled to intervene to save the Constitutional order. It seemed to us that an opportunity was opening up for the authorities to realize this crisis, and that they would make all possible efforts toward accord. However, events too the road of further confrontation; a catastrophe was looming.

While recently on a trip to the United States, I discovered unilateral options were being prepared, when power—both legislative, executive, and judicial—could be concentrated with the president, something which the president's closest associates were insistently pushing him to do. I was therefore compelled to cut short my trip and return home from the United States. For three days, however, I was unable to get in touch with President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I would pick up the direct telephone, and he would not answer. All persistent efforts to get in touch with him through his aides were fruitless. Even this morning, when I telephoned and told his aide: I demand immediately to be put through to the president; I must talk with him urgently on a constitutional matter—we had been notified of the decree which was being drawn up. I was not put through; the aide said Boris Nikolayevich does not have time to talk with you at the moment.

Having received the draft of this decree, because there are points in it which effectively establish absolute power, and the president is making himself the judge of his own affairs, we were compelled to draw up a letter to the president, which we sent to him. If the decree you have signed is issued, the letter states, then you will effectively provoke confrontation such as will bring about the collapse of Russia and will doom the 150-million strong population of Russia to a colossal catastrophe. Take all possible measures; you still have an opportunity to be the Russian Roosevelt, the Russian de Gaulle. Come forward with the idea of national accord. After the eighth congress, this will be a difficult accord indeed, but there is nevertheless a last chance. Put forward this idea; you will receive support. Surely Russians do not oppose the idea of national accord. The congress may be in some respects bad. Perhaps it is making mistakes in some respects, but we are not all perfect. We must not lump ourselves all together in the Communist or some other camp. There is no other way than that of accord. In the United States, the President spends a most significant part, more than half of his time, in smoothing relations with Congress, and that is a peaceful and stable country. This unfortunately has not happened, and our president has effectively and unilaterally opted for force.

In these conditions a sitting of the Constitutional Court has taken place and the judges reached the conclusion that the president has, in fact, ridden roughshod over the most important principles of the Constitutional system. What we are, in fact, dealing with is an attempt to stage a coup d'etat. However, the Constitutional Court believes that there are nonetheless stable forces in the country, and they are sufficiently legitimate for their authority not to collapse, for half-baked moves not to be made in the republic in these conditions, so that citizens understand that they can act according to the Constitution. Our only hope of salvation is to abide by the Constitution.

We call on the structures of force [silovyye struktury] to also abide by the Constitution. It is a cause for regret that my attempt today to contact Minister Barannikov and invite him just before the Presidium met was also unsuccessful. This is the first time in my experience that the security minister could not be contacted via the special phone link. This makes me ask: where was he? Could he really not come to the Presidium sitting and assuage concerns by saying that the power ministries are keeping to the Constitution? What is happening with them in this country? It makes you think.

There is something else that makes you think. Having discovered all this we wanted to avert this move by the president, but it was impossible to get in touch with him. I asked this television station to give us airtime at 2000. I was told that we cannot do that; we will let you go on air only after the president's speech. It is possible that if my statement was broadcast at 2000, the president would not have made a fateful mistake. Boris Nikolayevich, believe me, I pity you sincerely. You have blown your chance of being Russia's savior, to the address the problem and solve it, the problem of national accord. It can never be solved by force, nor by unilateral actions. You have placed yourself outside the Constitution. Come back within it.

[Stepankov] Esteemed residents of Russia. When the country is subjected to any serious tribulations, always there ought to exist a mechanism that will make it possible for one branch of authority or another, or any official, to extricate itself from the situation. The guarantees of that are to be found within the basic law of our state—the Constitution is meant here. There may exist various attitudes toward the Constitution, but no single official, or citizens themselves, have a right to allow the Constitution to be treated with disrespect, or to make attempts to break it by means other than those provided by the self-same basic law.

Today we are compelled to observe that attempts by an official, attempts by one structure, may yet bring about serious consequences, serious disbalance within the system of our power. I think that the times and the people who personify power make it possible for them, in this complex situation, to choose the correct steps, correct deeds, and actions.

One of the branches does not have all the power. I believe that today, starting with the declaration of Russian sovereignty, Russia has laid the foundations of a rule of law state which will prevent it from being swamped by civil war, to meet successfully yet another serious challenge and move further on, in search of correct decisions based on both branches of power being able to hear each other, when both of them are ready to cooperate in finding a way out of this difficult situation. Here is what we would not like: that the president's actions, founded on the decrees which we have not yet seen and which we are keen to see, and to find out how far they may diverge from current laws, should not engulf us into those awesome contradictions which may drown the whole country in blood.

We do hope that the Russian people, understanding all the gravity of this situation, will choose a line of conduct that will enable us to preserve peace and calm and not close the path to those reforms for whose sake we have been making the changes in the Constitution, the Constitution by which we must and will continue to live today until it changes further.

Rutskoy Refuses To Endorse Yeltsin Decree

LD2003204593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2007 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Aleksandr Rutskoy has spoken at a session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian parliament. He called on people's deputies not to make hasty decisions, but to study the situation carefully. The vice president reported that he has not endorsed the decree issued by the president of the Russian Federation on a special regime of government until the crisis of power has been overcome, because it violates eighteen articles of the Constitution of the Russian Federation. Aleksandr Rutskoy said that he has sent a letter to Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, explaining his point of view and calling on him "not to dramatize the situation". He believes that it is impossible to renounce constitutional consensus between powers. In his view, it is necessary to hold criminally liable "those radicals who are inciting the president to take anticonstitutional steps."

Sends Letter to Yeltsin

LD2103025193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0042 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar—The decree of the president of the Russian Federation "On a Special Regime of Goverment Until the Crisis of Power Has Been Overcome" will, if signed, undoubtedly lead to the splitting of the state and of society and will also have the gravest consequences for the country—this is stated by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy in a letter that he sent to President Boris Yeltsin today.

The vice president considers that "the rash actions of those who incited the president to make a show of force [silovoye vystupleniye] on television and sign decrees radicalizing the entire situation in Russia not only will not reassure the people and society, will not only not ease the situation in the country, but will destabilise it still further. "This, in the view of the vice president, is fraught with a major showdown [vyyasneniye otnosheniy] in society, quite probably involving the use of force. And force is inevitably followed by blood." [quotation marks as received]

Aleksandr Rutskoy appeals to Yeltsin "on no account to sign a single document directed toward renouncing constitutional harmony." What is needed, writes Rutskoy in his message to the president, is consistent and strictly constitutional actions by all authorities, including presidential power, aimed not at destroying, but at improving the entire system of state power in the Russian Federation on the principles of strict respect for the Constitution and for the division of power.

The message stresses that the president is being incited to take such actions by the radical "democrats," who have no thought of the consequences. This is nothing other than deadlock, the way into the abyss.

Aleksandr Rutskoy claims he warned the president of the Russian Federation and "tried to act, as far as possible, to ensure that the irresponsible figures who have brought Russia to its humiliating condition were called to account. It would seem that they now want to complete the process by inducing the president to act for them and incite him to take this unconstitutional step. Remember that I more than once tried to show you the real picture."

Text of Letter

LD2103042693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0046 GMT 21 Mar 93

["Official"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich:

With regard to your instructions regarding the draft decree "On a special regime of government until the crisis of power has been overcome," I am informing you that this decree, if it is signed, will indubitably lead to a split in government and in society, and will also cause the most serious consequences for the country.

I am convinced that the rash actions of those who incited the president to make a show of force [silovoye vystupleniye] on television and sign decrees radicalizing the whole situation in Russia not only will not reassure the people and society, will not only not ease the situation in the country, but will destabilize it still further. This is fraught with the possibility of a major showdown [vyyasneniye otnosheniy] in society, quite probably involving the use of force. And force is inevitably followed by blood.

Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich: I urge you to cancel your television appearance if it is to go ahead in the spirit of the draft decree in question. On no account must a single document directed toward renouncing constitutional harmony be signed. We need progressive and strictly constitutional action by all authorities, including that of the president, directed not toward destroying but toward perfecting the system of state power in the Russian Federation on the principles of strict respect for the Constitution and division of power.

What radical activists for "democracy" are pushing you toward without thinking about the consequences is nothing other than a dead end, a way into the abyss. They are now leading you toward this step. But should the situation become unstable, they will be the first to run, leaving the president to answer for all that has been done.

You should not be offended by my words and opinions. I warned you, and tried to act, as far as possible, to ensure that the irresponsible figures who have brought Russia to its humiliating condition were called to account. It is the economic and political situation of crisis in the country that was brought about by them which has put you, the generally elected president of Russia, in your current position. I know very well that all that is happening today has not come about by chance. There are considered actions behind much of this. Look: first they made the vice president your enemy, then the Supreme Soviet, and finally the Congress of People's Deputies. It would seem they now want to complete the process by inducing the president to act for them and to incite him to take this unconstitutional step. Remember that I more than once tried to show you the real picture. Because this is followed by the total destabilization of the country, the disintegration of Russia, the collapse of all our reforms. In other words, ideal conditions for the total plundering of the country will arise. The consequences are clear: blood, tears, people's bitterness, and the loss of a historic chance to resurrect great Russia. Can this be allowed to happen?

I ask you once again, Boris Nikolayevich, to consider the situation that has arisen and refrain from signing the decree. As before, I am ready to give all my strength and energy to lead Russia out of the crisis, but to lead it by another way—the constitutional way.

With respect,

[Signed] A. Rutskoy

Dissociates Himself From Decree

LD2103184093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1450 GMT 21 Mar 93

["Text" of statement issued on 21 March by the Russian Federation Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's press secretary]

[Text] Moscow, 21 March (ITAR-TASS)—In connection with numerous queries from representatives of the national and international press on the position taken by the vice president of the Russian Federation with regard to the well-known decision adopted by Boris Yeltsin, the vice president's press secretary states the following.

The president of the Russian Federation has taken the decision to introduce a regime of special rule in the country and to issue a decree, without consulting the vice president. The vice president's opinion that the power crisis in the country must be settled through mediatory means has not been taken into consideration. Therefore, any reference to the Russian vice president in connection with the presidential decree is not authentic. This is indicated by the letter to the president which Aleksandr Rutskoy read out on 20 March.

The vice president of the Russian Federation has authorized me to state that he, as one of the highest-ranking officials of the state, has been and remains in the position of unconditional adherence to the constitution, law and order. He is convinced that during the great

national crisis all bodies of state power and management, parties and socio-political movements, and civil organizations must show restraint and at all costs prevent any undermining of public order.

As Aleksandr Rutskoy has already said on numerous occasions, the leap to democracy and new forms of economic relations achieved by Russia is the basis of fundamental political, social, and economic reforms. A society can renew itself if two main conditions are present: rejection of any attempts to undermine the constitutional rule, and implementation of a policy of national accord.

Vice President Rutskoy draws the attention of our foreign partners to the fact that only a constitutional rule and law-based relations between all branches of power can be perceived as solid guarantors that Russia will remain within the realm of law and justice in its relations with the international community. Something else is also obvious. Any steps undermining constitutional rule in Russia will only hinder the consolidation of Russia's international prestige.

The Russian vice president is convinced that the present situation in the country can be taken under control. It must not be dramatized. It is important to find the right solutions which will not worsen the situation in the society and will not cause confrontation. The vice president of the Russian Federation is continuing to hold active consultation to find precisely such a solution.

Accuses Staff of 'Political Intrigues'

OW2203141793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy says there are "constitutional opportunities" for overcoming the crisis in society and putting an end to the ongoing confrontation between the branches of power in the Russian Federation. Such opportunities lie in the policy of national conciliation, in the mechanism of political dialogue of all the political forces and power structures, reads Vice President Rutskoy's statement which was circulated in Moscow this Monday [22 March] morning.

In the words of Aleksandr Rutskoy, Russia's future is now at stake as much as it was in August, 1991. He called on all the sides to refrain from dramatizing the situation or incensing one another, asking to carefully analyze the situation that has developed and find ways leading to social stability and consolidation of democratic principles.

The vice president's statement also contains critical remarks about Boris Yeltsin's televised appeal on March 20. Vice President Rutskoy opines that the appeal could dramatically change the situation in the country and threaten the country's constitutional development which, in his words, could be suspended, with society involved in a power confrontation.

"The people will surely pass their judgment in regards to those who are seeking it [confrontation of powers - IF [INTERFAX]]," Aleksandr Rutskoy said. "I can clearly see their motives behind it: They just want to conceal and camouflage the grave mistakes they made in running the country which have produced many material losses and human sacrifices. They are calling for "resolute" actions which, essentially, would be pursuing the same goals. Now, the time has come to ask the people from the president's inner circle who were recently referred to as a reform government: Who was preventing them from pursuing a policy aimed at improving the country's social stability and economic situation, rather than at confrontation? Apparently, neither the people nor the Supreme Soviet was in their way then. Their major problem was that they didn't have ahead of them any clear plan or distinct perspectives oriented at Russia's own potentials rather than their own ambitions and mythical aid by the West." Aleksandr Rutskoy calls for an in- depth analysis of the reasons which caused such a situation. "I think it would be right to say," he opines, "that the policy of making a leap into the market or shock therapy has failed due to an infatuation with political intrigues by the people who surround the president, complete irresponsibility and unaccountability of the people who were put in charge of decision-making in the executive power structures. All this, taken together, has put Russia on the brink of collapse." Mr Rutskoy wonders whether the idea of introducing what he termed as "direct presidential rule in Russia" was prompted to the president by those who fear that they would be brought to account for what they had done, should events take a different turn.

Aleksandr Rutskoy opines that Boris Yeltsin does have the right to put to referendum the issue of popular confidence in him. In the meantime he doubts whether the president had the authority to bring to the national referendum the draft of the country's new constitution.

"I don't want to say any more potent words, for I think it would be reprobate to address in haste the issue which will determine the future of the country and of all of us," Aleksandr Rutskoy said.

'Exclusive' Interview With Kozyrev 21 Mar

OW2103144093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Report on interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by unidentified INTERFAX correspondent on 21 March; place not given—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has declared that Russia's foreign partners "support President Yeltsin's address and wish that the policy of reform would go on". "The official messages received by the foreign ministry note that only President Yeltsin's

plan to overcome the crisis will keep the status of great power for Russia" - he declared in an exclusive interview with an Interfax correspondent on Sunday [21 March].

"We have not expected anything else - he noted - since there are the universal notions of the supremacy of people as proponents of law in a state rather than the principles of "the most democratic" Soviet democracy in effect in the world today.

The Minister pointed out that a number of the decisions of 7 and 8 Congresses of People's Deputies "are legal in form", but, in fact, are against the basic principles of law".

The people, Mr. Kozyrev noted, have two opportunities to regain the supremacy, if their rights are usurped - "either by uprising or by civilized democratic vote". The President restores law and order and guarantees both of them in the country, Andrey Kozyrev stressed.

He said that as always, Mr. Yeltsin is putting himself "rather than anyone else at risk", and unlike the opposition, is not trying to distance himself from a referendum. As the Minister said, attempts to contest the legitimacy of the President's decisions "discredit anyone and put his awareness of contemporary law out of context".

Supports Yeltsin Declaration

LD2203010593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1830 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar—Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev believes the essence of the historical changes, in fact a democratic revolution, happening in Russia at present is the transition from an unlawful [nepravovaya] to a law-based system.

In today's exclusive interview for ITAR-TASS, AP, and REUTER correspondents, he noted that in his address to the citizens, President Yeltsin proposed to restore the rule of law in a strictly peaceful, democratic manner, through a referendum, because in conditions of a "dispute" between powers a referendum is the only legal way to solve the problem. At the same time, the minister said, the president proposes a vote with total freedom, and acts as a guarantor for the creation of a law-based state and the development of democratic freedoms in Russia, acting strictly within the framework of the existing Constitution and legal norms. There is a similarity between the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in 1991 and the current scheming of the side opposing the president, which strives to "usurp power, to speak on behalf of the people. They (the president's opponents) claim they know best what the people need, while denying the people themselves the opportunity to make up their minds in the only way possible; i.e., by casting their votes."

Speaking about international support for President Yeltsin's democratic reforms, Andrey Kozyrev stressed that the events taking place in Russia are "the internal, particular business of Russians, and no one will deal with it for them." Either Russians defend the rights attained in August 1991 and Russia becomes a democratic power, or there will be a slide toward dictatorship and, accordingly, Russia's exclusion from the civilized states of the world community, chaos, and internal struggle within the country." [quotation marks as received] Foreign support, the minister noted, is a "valuable and important contribution to the processes going on in Russia, but it is by no means decisive." He said the Russian side intends to discuss the problems of cooperation and support both at the meeting between the Russian and U.S. Presidents and, possibly, at the meeting of the "Seven."

Speaking about the role of judicial authority, the minister said that "just as any other authority, it is the arbiter as long as it stands on the basis of law," and that for him "it is very difficult to understand its silence in the present period of confrontation between the authorities in Russia." The president is acting strictly within the Constitution, and strictly within the law, he pointed out. "The people hold sway both over the president and the Congress and the Constitutional Court, and in this sense the address by the president, which first and foremost poses the question of confidence in himself, is an appeal for powers aimed at those who gave him these powers." In the event that a referendum in support of Yeltsin "fails," then "there will be a different situation," but it is necessary for the people, and not somebody else—deputies or ministers or the president's entourage—to say this to the president, and there is a mechanism for this purpose—voting," Andrey Kozyrev noted. [quotation marks as received]

With regard to the role of the Foreign Ministry in the current circumstances, the minister feels it remains as before and flows from the "instruction of the president and the government and, I would say, the Congress too" to facilitate Russia's entry into the community of civilized, democratic states as a worthy member." [quotation marks as received] In practical terms, the minister feels this will be assisted by his forthcoming meeting with the U.S. secretary of state in Washington, which has beens called to discuss topical problems, including the Yugoslav conflict.

The head of the Foreign Ministry expressed confidence that Russia will not take the road back toward "the non-law-based state prior to August 1991." "There is the clear position of the president, who has the people's mandate and is supported by the people," he said, "and I think Russians are not savages from some country of fools, and they will make the correct decision." With regard to talk about the "impeachment" of the president, the minister pointed out that any attempt by anybody to express themselves on this issue is what in Russian is called "upstaging your grandfather" ["lezt poperek batki"]. The people will express their view on 25 April on

whether they have confidence in the president or not; "the people are a giant, a Gulliver, and those who start crying out such things against this are dwarves, Lilliputians, and they are conducting an unworthy fuss."

Chernomyrdin Chairs Government Session on Address

LD2103121493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1147 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar— A Russian Federation Government session has just opened here under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. The ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned from well-informed sources that there is a single issue on the agenda: The adoption of an address [obrashcheniye] from the government to the people of Russia. The same source stated that the draft address envisages support for the position of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Urges Nation To Avoid 'Anarchy'

LD2103151293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1453 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—chairman of the Council of Ministers of Russia Viktor Chernomyrdin addressed the emergency session of the Russian Parliament on Sunday and called on the leaders of republics and regions, all political parties and movements and the public in general not to allow "anarchy, chaos and political confrontation in the country".

Referring to President Boris Yeltsin's televised appeal to the people, Chernomyrdin said "The president of Russia has the right to make statements. It is up to specialists to decide whether the president's address is constitutional or unconstitutional".

Despite the complexity of the political situation in the country, the head of government assured members of the parliament that the "Government guarantees it will maintain law and order in the country without using forcible methods". He expressed confidence that "The power structures are capable of ensuring law and order and will not permit political confrontation. [quotation marks as received]

Chernomyrdin called on people's deputies to show restraint.

Government Makes Statement Supporting Yeltsin

LD2103132593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1256 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar—The Government of the Russian Federation made a statement today in which it supported the position of President Boris Yeltsin. Gennadiy Shipitko, head of the government's press center, told this to an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

Supports 'Constitutional Law and Order'

LD2103201893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1814 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—The Russian Government has adopted a statement in which it supports "efforts of democratically elected president to prevent anarchy, chaos, political confrontation, separatism, nationalism and crime, to preserve the unity and integrity of the Russian Federation, national accord and ensure further development of democratic transformations and economic reforms."

The government guarantees the support of constitutional law and order and comes out for taking urgent measures to stabilize the situation and create conditions for efficient actions of the executive power to come out of the economic, constitutional and political crisis. In the present situation, the government of the Russian Federation considers it's the president's right to carry out a vote of confidence in himself and appeals to the legislative power to create conditions for the people to express its will on this problem.

Implementing a programme of actions worked out jointly with subjects of the Russian Federation, the government is taking all necessary emergency measures to ensure stable work of all branches of industry, uninterrupted functioning of the financial system, communications, communication and transport means.

Realising its responsibility for defence of rights, freedoms and safety of citizens, for ensuring democratic conditions for the activity of political parties, public organisations and movements, freedom of the mass media and preservation of the constitutional system, based on invariable principles of people's power, federalism, the republican form of government and separation of powers, the Russian Government declares that heads of force structures—ministers for defence, security and the interior, remain loyal to constitutional principles and will ensure order without involving the Armed Forces, security forces and law enforcement bodies into political confrontation.

The government of the Russian Federation calls upon heads of republics in the composition of the Russian Federation, leaders of regions and districts, autonomous districts and regions, the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, managers of organisations, departments and enterprises possessing all kinds of property, workers of all spheres and branches of people's economy, all citizens of the multinational Russian Federation, to display

restraint, calm and determination to continue democratic and economic transformations in society, the statement said.

Gives 'Unanimous Support' to Yeltsin

OW2103180493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1725 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's government "gives unanimous support to the president elected by the entire nation, and to his stand expressed in his address to the people, which was aimed at preventing anarchy, chaos, political confrontation, separatism, nationalism and crime, and at preserving the unity and territorial integrity of the Russian Federation." The Cabinet of Ministers announced this in a statement adopted at its session on Sunday.

As First Deputy Premier Vladimir Shumeyko said, the document was adopted "unanimously, with one abstention." According to the information available to IF [INTERFAX], the person who abstained was Justice Minister Nikolay Fiodorov. As sources in the Cabinet explained, his attitude was prompted by technical reasons.

The government says in its statement that it guarantees law and order, and stands for taking urgent steps to stabilize the situation and overcome "the economic, constitutional and political crisis without using emergency measures or force, without tanks and barricades, without rallies and bloodshed." As members of the Cabinet, the leaders of the Defense, Security and Interior Ministries remain loyal to the constitutional principles and pledge to ensure law and order, without entangling the army, the security forces or law-enforcers in political confrontation.

The government urged the leaders of republics, regions and territories making up the Russian Federation, the leaders of organizations and facilities, regardless of the form of property, and all the Russian citizens "to display restraint, calm and resolve to continue democratic and economic reforms in Russia." As First Deputy Premier Vladimir Shumeyko told journalists, Deputy Premier Sergey Shakhray briefed participants in the session on how the president's address to the people was drafted, and on draft decrees designed to implement provisions of the address. No one has the right to deny Boris Yeltsin the opportunity to submit any issue to a direct vote of the people, Shumeyko pointed out. "The president has resorted once again to the efforts to resolve the present situation by peaceful means, and the government gives full support to his efforts," the deputy premier said.

'Unamious Support' Deleted From Statement

OW2103182893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1816 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of the government of the Russian Federation has distributed the complete and precise text of the Statement of the Government of the Russian Federation. As opposed to the text distributed at the press conference of the first deputy chairman of the Cabinet of ministers, Vladimir Shumeyko, this new text, the press center reports, includes various amendments and notes by government members.

In the new text, the words on "unanimous" support for the president and his position have been cut out, while a word on support for "constitutional" lawfulness and law and order was added.

Further on, in one of the paragraphs, instead of the words: "Supporting the actions of the president to defend citizens' rights, freedoms and security," the final text reads: "Acknowledging the responsibility for defending citizens' rights, freedoms and security..."

Shumeyko Comments on Government Support for Yeltsin

LD2103184993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1703 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] The Russian Government considers that no one has the right to refuse the president the use of the possibility of resolving the political and constitutional crisis in the country by placing the question to a vote. This was stated today at a news conference by Russian First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko, commenting on the statement adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers in support of the president's position.

The government does not have the right to assess the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of particular acts of the president, Vladimir Shumeyko said. For that there is the Constitutional Court, he added. With its statement the government supports the actions of the president to resolve the conflict of the powers. It will find in itself the strength to work smoothly and calmly, Shumeyko said. The first vice premier also said that the government would support all documents coming from the pen of the president. Replying to the question of whether the president consulted with the government in making the decision to introduce special rule [osobyy poryadok upravleniya], Vladimir Shumeyko announced that there were such consultations but the president made the decision himself, granting the government freedom of choice.

Comments on Yeltsin Decree, Impeachment

OW2103180993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1726 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's First Vice Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko does not doubt that the Supreme Soviet and Congress of People's Deputies will repeal the decrees made by President Boris Yeltsin concerning the introduction of a special period of administrative rule in the

country. At a press conference on Sunday in Moscow, he was of the opinion that until April 25 (this is the day named in Yeltsin's appeal for holding an all- Russian plebiscite on faith in the president - IF [INTERFAX]) there will be two kinds of legal documents in effect in the country: one branch of power will take decisions which will be rescinded by the other branch. Under such conditions, Shumeyko is convinced that the government should not carry out any anti-constitutional decisions.

Shumeyko also said that there was no basis for proposing the issue of impeaching the president at the congress. Shumeyko stated that the president's appeal to the citizens of Russia is entirely in accordance with legislation and the current Constitution.

Shumeyko called 'incorrect' the speech last night on television by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy during which the vice president expressed his disagreement with Yeltsin. The vice premier is convinced that in as much as Rutskoy was elected together with Yeltsin, he should be in solidarity with the president. Shumeyko thinks Rutskoy's expressions about "those surrounding the president" and a "clique" are unacceptable.

Shumeyko called the speech during the same TV appearance by the chairman of the Constitutional Court to be "premature." In his opinion, Zorkin behaved like a lawyer when commenting on legal acts which had not yet been issued in accordance with established procedure. In Shumeyko's words, the official presidential decrees could be published already on March 22.

In the opinion of the first vice premier, in the near future events in Russia concerning Yeltsin's proposal for an all-Russian plebiscite could develop in one of two ways. The first way would mean the congress agrees to hold the referendum, at which the issue of the division of power will be included. If the congress is against this, Shumeyko said, then polls will have to be distributed by April 25. At the same time the vice premier stressed that the president will not be involved in conducting the plebiscite.

Zorkin Returns Early Due to State of Affairs

LD1903155093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1408 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar—The state of affairs in Russia is not conducive to continuing the unofficial part of his trip around the United States: this is how Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin explained the reason for his early return home. He addressed a news conference today for Russian and foreign journalists devoted to the results of his first visit to the other side of the ocean. Zorkin does not link his return "with the talk of presidential rule," but he did admit that he, along with other judges, was very worried by such an eventuality.

"Neither the Constitution nor the laws contain such words," he said. The United States supports the Russian president, and "I support him, because Boris Yeltsin is the legitimate president," the chairman of the Constitutional Court emphasized. In the course of conversations, including with Bill Clinton, it transpired that American politicians do not want Boris Yeltsin's rating to fall. They want him to have broad public support and to be a symbol of the stability of power. Whatever fails to coincide with these considerations leads to grievous consequences, Zorkin noted.

In his opinion, the danger to the Constitution comes from the "left and right radicals, from the different sides of the whole political and social sector and those people in power who are siding up with these groups." The situation is getting to a point of departure from the Constitution, which is being viewed as "the centrist state of society". The chairman of the Constitutional Court has sounded a warning about how dangerous it will be if a group of people with such subjective opinions wins. He is convinced that the powers—while not being able to find a common language and engaging in constant confrontations—are making a big mistake by forgetting about Russia and the interests of society.

Zorkin has also stressed that the Constitutional Court has not been created to "play up to somebody". The president should bridge the gap of contradictions and act as a leader "who epitomizes the idea of national concord," Zorkin believes. He has stressed that, contrary to various opinions, the president did not lose the Congress but won it. He has gained a "unique chance to become a strong head of the executive power, supported by the common ground found by various sides."

Russia is a presidential republic; the president has powers. Zorkin believes that if the president continues to demand more and more powers, it could cause "the Gorbachev effect". From the constitutional point of view, it is important to use the powers that Yeltsin already has—not to the detriment of other powers, but on the basis of mutually agreed upon positions. If something does not work out for one power or the other, they should sit down together, with political parties and representatives from the regions also invited.

The chairman of the Constitutional Court has pointed out that it is important that decisions are not only adopted but implemented as well. If the decrees and laws are not being observed, it is "a sign of a great disaster," he said.

Commenting on the positions taken by some people's deputies, Zorkin has noted: It is dangerous when, instead of instructing the driver, the deputies "are ready to crash the vehicle named 'presidential republic'". We already have a presidential republic, people have already voted for the president, and we do not need to sort this out all over again.

Sends Letter to Yeltsin

LD2003222193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2100 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Report by Tatyana Mitkova]

[Text] Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of the Constitutional Court, has also spoken along with Rutksoy at the the session of the Presidium. He said he had sent a letter to the Russian president in which he noted that the signing of the decree on the procedure for a special regime of government of the country would actually mean that the basic principles of the constitution would have been suspended and the president would have to face all the consequences resulting from this.

Statement Labeled 'Personal Position'

LD2103013993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2300 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] It has come to light that the statement by Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin merely reflects his own personal position. Constitutional Court member Ernst Ametistov has stated that no session of the Constitutional Court took place; he said Valeriy Zorkin has effectively broken the law and voiced his own personal position, which was not ratified by the Constitutional Court.

Tries To Meet With Yeltsin

OW2103104193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1018 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The attempt of the chairman of the Russian Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin to meet with the Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Saturday [20 March] was unsuccessful. Circles close to the Constitutional Court reported to Interfax that Zorkin was trying to influence the situation "which can lead to introduction of the so-called regime of special ruling."

His attempt to conduct consultations during a telephone talk has brought no results either; the same sources told Interfax that "there was a talk but the parties failed to reach mutual understanding."

The chairman of the Constitutional Court has urgently left for the Russian House of Soviets where he intends to conduct a press conference together with members of leadership of the Russian parliament.

Court To Rule on Yeltsin's 'Special Rule'

LD2103144793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1419 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow March 21 ITAR-TASS—The Constitutional Court of Russia has decided, on its own initiative, to consider the constitutionality of the actions announced by Russian President Boris Yeltsin in his address to the nation on Saturday, according to Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin.

Begins To Scrutinize Decree

OW2103175993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1725 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Constitutional Court's Chairman Valeriy Zorkin has reported that the court has independently decided to check" the legitimacy of Mr. Yeltsin's latest decrees and his constitutional responsibility as President. Addressing the emergency session of Russia's Parliament on Sunday, he reported that the court had already "conducted negotiations" with some senior officials, including the Presidential administration's chief Sergey Filatov and vice-premier Sergey Shakhray, and said that the scrutiny would go on.

Mr. Zorkin said that Mr. Yeltsin had not answered an invitation from the court while consultations with the Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, vice-president Rutskoy, and ministers Barannikov and Grachev had "helped to clear up the situation." In Mr. Zorkin's words, the court has not yet received a single document or text of the decree, related to Mr. Yeltsin's address.

Russia's Prosecutor General Stepankov in his brief speech at the session explained that the question of "court action against those involved in drafting Yeltsin's decrees could be solved in parallel "with the investigation being carried out by the Constitutional Court, and that, in his words, "will be done." The Security Minister Barannikov and the Interior Minister Erin reported that the situation in the country was under control and the troops under their command remained loyal to the constitution.

The Defense Minister Grachev declared that "the army had so far been controllable" and warned that "tension had been gradually mounting, especially in the Moscow region." He said that if political confrontation spread to the army, "it would end in bloodshed." "Neither side should be allowed to reach its goals by splitting the army" - stressed Grachev and urged deputies to seek a compromise between legislative and executive powers.

The Security Council's secretary Skokov confirmed at the session that he had refused to sign the draft of the Presidential decree on special administration in the country.

In his opinion, the document can aggravate the social and political situation in Russia. He also revealed that he had informed the President about his position and had asked him to sign the decree.

Mr. Skokov said he did not know who had prepared the Presidential decree.

Court Does Not Have Text

LD2203092593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0833 GMT 22 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow, 22 March—The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation is today in full complement, and, chaired by Valeriy Zorkin, is continuing consideration of the case "On Verification of the Constitutionality of the Actions of the Supreme Official of the Russian Federation." The ITAR-TASS correspondent learned this from the Constitutional Court press service. The Court began considering this case on its own initiative, having appraised Boris Yeltsin's television address to the citizens of Russia "as an attempt to strike out the basic, fundamental principles of the Constitution, above all the principle of the division of powers."

The consideration of the case is complicated by the fact that the Constitutional Court does not have the texts of the decrees which Boris Yeltsin spoke of in his address.

Yeltsin 'Very Angry' in Court Meeting

AU2203142493 Paris AFP in English 1638 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, March 22 (AFP)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin held a stormy meeting Monday [22 March] with the president of the Constitutional Court which is examining the legality of his declaration of direct presidential rule, a court official said.

"The head of state was very angry," said the aide to court president Valeriy Zorkin after the 30-minute meeting at the Kremlin. No other details were immediately available.

Zorkin requested the talks in a phone call to the Kremlin leader late Sunday after the conservative-led parliament adopted a resolution condemning Yeltsin's move and ordering the court to rule on its legality, the aide said.

Yeltsin has yet to formally publish his decree imposing presidential rule, so the court on Monday began examining the television statement broadcast late Saturday in which the Russian president announced his plans.

Yeltsin-Zorkin Meeting 'Did Not Occur'

OW2203152593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1518 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Informed sources in the Kremlin refuted reports from several Western media sources that Russian President Boris Yeltsin met with Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin in Moscow Monday. Such a meeting did not occur, the sources stressed in an interview with Interfax.

Human Rights Chairman Rejects Zorkin Stance

LD2103184693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1725 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 21 March—[passage omitted] Sergey Kovalev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Human Rights, believes that Valeriy Zorkin's stance is in direct contradiction with the law on the Constitutional Court; he expressed his point of view about the conflict before a court hearing on the matter, and in practice became one of the parties in the conflict, and thus cannot take part in any further investigation of the conflict.

"One cannot talk about the president trying to force a dictatorship," Sergey Kovalev stressed, "if he insists on a popular vote on his position, on a new vote on his own candidacy rather than on the candidacies of the deputies."

Gorbachev Calls For 'Free Elections'

LD2003211993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1842 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—"The current political course is in crisis because an absence of agreed-upon perspective makes it impossible to take action at federal and regional levels," former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said in Moscow on Saturday [20 March].

"I would wish the Russian president to take the initiative in his hands," Gorbachev said at a function marking the 40th anniversary of Radio Liberty.

Announcing free elections will be the best way out of the current situation. "It is necessary to push any political combination through free elections now that there is still food, unemployment is low and the federation is alive."

Gorbachev believes that new people are needed to take the responsibility. Citizens of Russia are looking forward to a clear- cut and wise policy. Moreover, he continued, if the president loses the new election, everybody will realise that he thought about Russia and not power.

The former Soviet president is convinced that the authorities now do not know "what they will do the day after imposing a special regime or presidential rule."

Speaking on the anniversary of Radio Liberty, Gorbachev admitted that he began listening to radio long ago. "There was much which I did not like, but a lot of things were very useful."

Justice Minister Submits Resignation 22 Mar

OW2203152293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1518 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Interfax learned from reliable sources that Russian Minister of Justice Nikolay Fedorov submitted his resignation on Monday. The same sources said that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin plans to confirm Fedorov's resignation.

Defense, Security Ministers Waiting for Orders

AU2003211493 Paris AFP in English 2112 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, March 20 (AFP)—The Russian ministers of defense and security were standing by Saturday [20 March] for orders from President Boris Yeltsin to maintain security in Moscow if needed, a senior administration source told AFP.

Yeltsin meanwhile was at his dacha outside the capital after he announced in a taped televised speech plans to impose direct presidential rule in Russia prior to a national referendum on who rules the country on April 25.

Yeltsin said he had instructed the army not to use force for any political ends.

Ministries Operating Normally

LD2103125793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1144 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By CRIMEPRESS correspondent Sergey Oleynik - TASS]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar—"The Russian Ministry of Security is functioning normally and has not been taking any special measures today." This assurance was given to the CRIMEPRESS correspondent by Aleksey Kondaurov, an official spokesman of the Russian Federation Ministry of Security. He stressed that there are no grounds to speak of troops and security bodies being put on to a footing of combat readiness and their transfer to a special situation footing [perevod na osoboye polozheniye].

When asked about the position adopted by the Ministry of Security after yesterday's televised addresses to the Russian people by President Yeltsin and a group of other leaders, Aleksey Kondaurov answered: "The Ministry of Security has always stood guard over the Constitution and legality, and will continue to do so."

"In the existing situation the Ministry of Internal affairs is operating in strict accordance with the Russian Federation Law on Militia," Vladimir Vorozhtsov, head of the public relations center of the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs, stated. According to him, work is proceeding normally with the crime militia combating crime and the public safety militia carrying out its tasks. On the previous day Interior Ministry staff members uncovered a major theft of weapons in Ivanovo oblast, and a number of successful operations were conducted by the Directorate for Economic Crime.

On the possibility of the Russian Interior Ministry's bodies and troops being put on to a special regime footing [perevod na osobyy rezhim], Vorozhtsov replied: "The public relations center I am in charge of is operating normally." He refrained from discussing the position in other sub-units and units of the Russian militia.

Grachev on Effect of Crisis on Armed Forces

OW2103175393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1724 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The constitutional crisis in Russia has not affected the state of affairs within the armed forces so far, said Defence Minister Pavel Grachev in an interview with IF [INTERFAX]'s correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov. According to him, the crisis is reflected largely in Moscow; in the garrisons and in military districts the situation is stable. The defence minister got convinced of this during his visits to military districts and naval units. "The army minds its own business," he said. This doesn't mean however that everything is calm in the army. There are forces in it seeking to demoralize the armed forces from within. "What worries me particularly is the so-called officers' rallies conducted in Moscow," Grachev went on to say. Their true inspirers are not those who conduct them, but the leaders of ultra-radical opposition parties and public movements, he stressed. They are gathering under their banners dissatisfied servicemen and urge them to set up three-member, five-member and other groups for the possible support for those who oppose the legitimate authorities, the defence minister said. He deplored the fact that such actions failed to be duly evaluated by the constitutional authorities, despite their running counter to the Constitution. If the necessary measures fail to be taken, Grachev pointed out, as a result of the attempts to split the army the situation will worsen, and a split in the army might become inevitable.

Grachev Accused of Treason

LD2003120693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Mar 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] An all-army officers' assembly of the Moscow Military District opened in the Russian parliamentary center today. The Eighth Congress of People's Deputies and results of the all-army officers assembly, which was held in February, were on the agenda. According to those gathered in the audience—the patriotically minded military—the aim of today's conference is the salvation and revival of the Fatherland.

[Begin Terekhov, chairman of Officers Assembly, recording] The army cannot stay outside politics at the present time. [end recording]

For this reason, Terekhov stressed, it was necessary to decide which side the army should take in a critical situation. As was discovered later, the patriots support [Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan] Khasbulatov for punctiliously adhering to his position and standing up for the adoption of the constitution proposed by the Congress. Terekhov accused Russian Defense Minister [Pavel Grachev] of high treason because Grachev, who came out against politics in the armed forces, secretly supported the President. Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy was also present at today's patriotic conference of officers.

General Achalov Comments

AU2003193393 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1830 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Interview with General Achalov by Susanne Scholl in Moscow; date not given—recorded; in Russian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Scoll] Theoretically, the whole function was illegal, but no one disturbed the meeting of those Russian military officers who would prefer to be Soviet officers again. In the conflict between Boris Yeltsin and the parliament, they clearly side with the deputies. It is, however, hard to say how many followers in the Army they really have. The only thing that is certain is the fact that not even the president knows exactly what part of the military establishment would back him when and if he imposed a state of emergency. Anyway, at the meeting, everyone speaking against Yeltsin and his defense minister was applauded. For the latter, a successor has already been picked—General Achalov, who makes it clear where he stands.

[Achalov] Look, we want peace for Russia. We do not want our people to run after foodstuffs, nor do we want the dollar to rule the ruble.

[Scholl] What happens if Yeltsin imposes a state of emergency?

[Achalov] Well, we have the Supreme Soviet, as you know, the parliament, which will examine the decree and decide.

[Scholl] And the Army?

[Achalov] We and the people will then protect the parliament.

Khasbulatov Adviser Urges Army To Understand Politics

OW2103125193 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0130 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Interview with Major General N.S. Stolyarov, adviser to Chairman of Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov, by unidentified correspondent; from the "Aty-Baty" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Nikolay Sergeyevich, imagine that a simple Russian officer is watching us now. When such a simple Russian officer looks at the screen, hears all kinds of politicians making statements, and sees the problems of the power struggle, what should he think, what should he do, what should he decide?

[Stolyarov] Addressing the officer cadre, my colleagues and comrades in arms, I would first of all say that an officer has always been, is and must remain a patriot of his Motherland and his Fatherland. It might be necessary to talk about an officer being outside of politics, but today, when the society is polarized to the extreme, an officer must have a better grasp of politics than anyone else. He must recognize good, truth and justice so as to make no mistake in a critical moment, and make his choice with full knowledge of the matter.

Views Army Involvement in Politics

OW2103125793 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0130 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Interview with Major General N.S. Stolyarov, adviser to Chairman of Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov, by unidentified correspondent; from the "Aty-Baty" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] There is a formula which says that the army should be outside of politics. What is the situation today, when various political forces are trying to entangle the army in an active political struggle?

[Stolyarov] Indeed, the political axiom calling for the army to stay out of politics is suitable for a normal and stable legal state. But let us ask ourselves: Have we even approached such a status? Alas, we are switching to a new political system, and this transitional status is our point of departure in all our deeds and intentions. To say that the army should stay out of politics is all very fine, and this is how it should be. But is it? And is it possible in real life, in practice? Here is an example. During the seventh session of people's deputies the situation got complicated, the president left the assembly hall and called for (?deputies) to follow him. Immediately, they started looking for the defense minister, who was sick at the time, and for the minister of security and internal affairs, trying to find out who the army was with. The army is with the people, of course. Such a phrasing just insults the army, since it is really a part of the people. Secondly, the army has been through a lot—Afghanistan, Tbilisi, Vilnius, and the events of August 1991. The eighth congress has just been held, and the situation was repeated in minute detail: The president left the assembly hall, and immediately a delegation headed to the minister of defense to ask who the army was with. So, is the army outside of politics, or is it in the epicenter?

Says Army at 'Epicenter' of Politics

OW2103130493 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0130 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Interview with Major General N.S. Stolyarov, adviser to Chairman of Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov, by unidentified correspondent; from the "Aty-Baty" program—recorded]

[Text] [Stolyarov] The concept of patriotism is no longer a uniform one today. Some are patriots of the USSR and clamor for its revival, some have become patriots of the CIS, and others are patriots of their own national army, or even of their own private land— a farm, for example, and so on.

If we examine other painful issues, we see that today's army has been forced by circumstance into the epicenter of politics. And if our politicians think that it is very easy to neutralize the army and steer it out of politics through forceful edicts and decrees, they are very much mistaken. Instead of pushing the army into politics, they should create normal conditions so that the army can occupy itself with what should be—namely, maintain combat readiness to repel aggression, no matter where it comes from.

[Reporter] Let me approach the issue from a different angle. Do you remember the celebrated phrase by Lenin: We no longer have to fear the man with the rifle? Should we fear the man with the rifle today?

[Stolyarov] I would be wide off the mark if I were to say that the army is made up of exclusively positive moral elements. Anything can be encountered in the army—the infamous hazing, crime, and corruption at the highest echelons of power—unfortunately, we often hear and see it. However, I would say that as a whole, the problem of reforms in the army, which stem from the current switch to professionalism, does not concern the army alone—it is our common goal. Society must be very attentive to the political, moral and human qualities of the people in uniform. I think that not just anyone can be trusted with arms.

'Shield' Urges Support for Yeltsin

OW2103183993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an appeal to the people of Russia and the military, the union of servicemen "Shield" declared that after the failed coup of August, 1991, the Russian parliament and the Congress of People's Deputies had consistently worked to curtail, and later oppose, reforms in Russia.

"Having rejected all proposals made by the Russian president, taking advantage of the difficulties of our times, the so-called people's representatives are trying to return Russia to a communist slavery built on people's bones and on the attempts to sell out the country's natural resources," Shield said in its statement.

Shield urges the people to give support to the decision taken by their legitimately elected president, and to voice their attitude to the situation in the country at the April 25 referendum.

Shield calls on Russia's armed forces not to succumb to provocations, but to maintain calm and restraint, preserve military discipline and order, and comply with orders issued by Russia's Commander-in-Chief and Defense Minister.

Acting Supreme Soviet Chairman on Yeltsin's 'Special Regime'

LD2103020493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0048 GMT 21 Mar 93

["Official—Information release"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] At 1900 [1600 GMT] on 20 March, Yu.M. Voronin, acting chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, sent B.N. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, a letter with the following contents:

"Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich (excl) [not further identified]:

"It has become known to people's deputies of the Russian Federation that a draft decree by the president of the Russian Federation is being prepared that effectively suspends the activity of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, and the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, and discontinues the functions of representative bodies of subjects of the Russian Federation. This is in breach not only of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, but of the constitutions of the republics within the Russian Federation, which can lead to the disintegration of the country and the loss of those levers by which we can manage the economy.

"We ask you once more to weigh all the possible consequences of introducing a special regime as an anticonstitutional act."

[Signed] Press center of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation

Parliamentary Official: Shakray Author of Decree

LD2103090593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0730 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] A RIA corrspondent has learned from parliamentary circles that the author of President Yeltsin's decree on a special rule regime until the crisis of power is resolved is Sergey Shakray, chairman of the state committee for natonalities policy. According to an influential people's deputy, who asked that his name not be given,

the decree is a most flagrant violation of the constitution. Shakray will be put on trial for this, he considers.

The same circles reported that the draft decree was given the go- ahead by Sergey Shakhray and Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administration. Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and Yuriy Skokov, Secretary of the Security Council, declined to give it the go-ahead.

Working Russia Holds Rally; Faction Heads Meet

LD2103094893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0814 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Correspondent Andrey Nikiforov report from the Russian Federation House of Soviets in Moscow]

[Excerpt] [Nikiforov] Good morning. Good morning dear listeners. First I have to confirm earlier reports that a rally really is taking place in front of the Russian Federation House of Soviets building. It really is a small rally, with red banners. To all appearances it is Working Russia that is holding this rally. There are about 200 to 300 people, and the slogans are similiar to ones at previous rallies—"Yeltsin is a CIA agent," etc. I will not quote the slogans.

[Announcer] I must say that at the moment, according to our information, a rally is starting on Soviet Square. A correspondent has gone there and will report on this a little later.

[Nikiforov] The people who are speaking at the rally, including Moscow soviet deputies, and I also saw General Makashev, explaining to the people present that President Yeltsin, in appealing to all the citizens of Russia and signing the decree on introducing a special regime of government in the Russian Federation, violated the Russian Federation Constitution and clashed with the amendments to the Constitution that were adopted at the Seventh Congress, and which were unfrozen, as you remember, at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies, and which say that violation of the national state structure leads to the automatic loss of presidential powers. This is being explained to the people at the rally.

I wanted to say that there is tension in the air, although I have to say that there is no particular animation here at the Supreme Soviet building. Evidently the people's deputies have simply not arrived yet. They are supposed to gather here in their full composition, as you know, at 1600 [1300 GMT], when an extraordinary sitting of the Supreme Soviet session is planned. But at the moment, of course, it is difficult to say whether or not there will be a quorum. But at the moment I will say that no particular animation is observable here in the hall at the moment.

What should I say further about what is going on here? Well, at the moment, or rather 15 minutes ago, at 1100, the Council of Deputy Factions began meeting in the office of its chairman, Vladimir Novikov. Yesterday before [passage indistinct]] work, I went to Vladimir Novikov's office, where he told me that journalists will not be admitted to this session of the Council of Heads of Deputy Factions, but he promised that if any decisions are adopted then he will certainly tell us about them after the session. But at the same time I met Bella Denisenko, a representative of the Democratic Russia faction, who said that at least the deputies from the democratic factions do not intend to make any decisions, because it is necessary to consult all the deputies in the faction. It is unlikely that any decisions will be made at this council—they will simply exchange opinions, and personal points of view will be expressed.

What else? I saw here in the corridor Gennadiy Zyuganov, (?speaker) of the Russian Communist Party. As you know, today he is to take part in a live broadcast from Ostankino, along with deputy Aleksey Surkov. [passage omitted]

Rutskoy at Supreme Soviet Presidium Session 20 Mar

OW2103105093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1018 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A session of the presidium of the Russian parliament, chaired by vice speaker Yuriy Voronin, was opened at 21:00 [1800 GMT] on Saturday [20 March] in the Russian House of Soviets.

The session is being held behind the closed doors. The participants of the session are discussing problems related to the Russian President Boris Yeltsin's TV address scheduled for 21:30 this evening.

Unofficial sources reported to Interfax that at present the Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy is in the House of Soviets as well.

Ryabov Reads Draft of Appeal to Russian Citizens

LD2003225793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2100 GMT 20 Mar 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A decision to convene an extraordinary sitting of the sixth session of the Supreme Soviet on Sunday, 21 March, at 1600 hours has been adopted at the session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. It is expected that the agenda will include the issue of urgent measures aimed at preserving the constitutional system in the Russian Federation. It was also proposed at the Presidium session that a Congress of People's Deputies be convened on 24 March, an extraordinary congress, like the previous one. Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Nikolay Ryabov read out a draft appeal to the citizens of Russia. The document says the following, among other things:

What circles close to the Russian president urged has happened; namely, the bankrupt and adventurous policy

has become obvious. Having introduced a special regime of government, Boris Yeltsin has opposed those who value the interests of the people.

The vice chairman insists that this text be adopted immediately and be distributed among the Federation's subjects.

More on Appeal

LD2103015693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0045 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] [no dateline as received]—To citizens of the Russian Federation:

The address of the president to the citizens of Russia, in which he declares a special regime of government for the country—i.e., what his entourage had been openly calling for—is an attempt to establish an autoritarian dictatorship, an encroachment upon the legally elected bodies of power. It is hypocritical to say that the special regime of power has been introduced "in the interests of Russians" and for "the consolidation of power."

The disintegration of the economy, science, culture, and public health; the uncontrolled rise of prices; the impoverishment of the people; the unprecedented wave of crime and violence; the process of moral and spiritual degradation—these are what has come of the president's repeated demands for wider powers and the many promises of Boris Yeltsin and his ministers to give the people a better life and set about reviving a truly great Russia.

Russia is today being turned into a backward, dependent country and the people are being humiliated and plundered. The only people who are flourishing in Russia now are the embezzlers of public funds, the swindlers, the mafiosi, and those who are rapaciously misappropriating the richest natural and raw material-resources of the state for their own benefit and for the benefit of foreign capital.

The Eighth Congress of People's Deputies acted resolutely to put an end to this situation that is a source of shame to our country; to restore a stable constitutional regime; and to call to account those who have brought a great power to the brink of the abyss. But terror of thus being called to account, and fear of their own people, have forced those close to the president to incite him to flout the Constitution and attempt reprisals against the growing resistance by the people of Russia to his bankrupt policy.

By declaring a special regime of government, Yeltsin is opposing himself to constitutional legality and the vital interests of Russia's people.

It remains the constitutional duty of every citizen of Russia to obey strictly and without fail the Constitution and laws of the Russian Federation.

All the peoples of the Russian Federation must resolutely support the constitutional foundations of the Federation, and resolutely oppose the violation of the Federation Treaty and the violation of their rights. Dictatorship is the end of the Federation.

In this dark [dramaticheskiy] hour for our homeland we must do all we can for the real stability of the constitutional system and for the rebirth of a free, democratic, and independent Russia!

[Signed] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation House of Soviets of Russia

Moscow, 20 March 1993

Yelstin, Key Officials Invited to 21 March Sitting

LD2103094093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] From early this morning people's deputies have been arriving in the Russian Parliament. I remind you that there are plans to convene a sitting of the Supreme Soviet at 1300 GMT. An ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned that President Boris Yeltsin, Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, Chairman of the Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Security Council Secretary Yuriy Skokov, and Foreign Intelligence Service Director Yevgeniy Primakov have been invited personally to the sitting.

Khasbulatov Interrupts CIS Tour, Returns to Moscow

LD2103120893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1120 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] We have just received a report that Ruslan Khasbulatov, the speaker of the Russian Parliament, who interrupted his tour of CIS capitals, has arrived in Moscow. He immediately set off to the White House to take part in the Russian Supreme Soviet session. Yesterday he said that he was interrupting his visit of CIS countries in order to establish legality and order.

Extraordinary Session Held 21 March on Yeltsin Actions

Khasbulatov Opening Speech

LD2103202393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1310 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Opening speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov address at extraordinary session of Russian Supreme Soviet in Moscow; live—broadcast in progress]

[Text] ... the will of millions of voters who have entrusted people's deputies to represent their interests in terms of realizing their historic aspirations for the renaissance of the country. There has been an attempt to usurp power, veiled in verbal rhetoric about a fight against the hydra of communism which is allegedly rearing its ugly head.

The point, in fact, lies elsewhere, in the bankruptcy of the economic policy that the president is carrying out. The expression of dissatisfaction—quite normal for a democratic society—by a people reduced to desperation is being portrayed as an attempted communist conspiracy. It is poverty that frightens people, not the threats of senior officials and their maneuvers.

Playing the anti-communist card in the present conditions in our country is the direct path to a schism of society, to civil war, and to dictatorship. It is high time that it is understood that in any really democratic society, advocates of the socialist idea are a normal element of the spectrum of political life. The Eighth Congress opened up the way toward emerging from the most grave situation in which the country had found itself, namely the way toward bringing about economic reform, on the basis of accord, democracy, and the balance of all branches of power, by concluding professional agreements in the context of a roundtable to bring the economy out of crisis and forming a mixed market economy oriented toward people's interests. In a word, what is involved is the creation and precise execution of a complex work reflecting a balance of all political forces. What we are being offered, however is an OPUS government of the country [Osoboye Poryadok Upravleniya Stranoy—play on word "opus," meaning "work"] and the aim is to turn society into an obedient executor of the will of the president's team alone.

However, OPUS jokes aside, a direct threat has indeed loomed over the country of a return to the worst days of neo-totalitarianism, camouflaged by democratic phraseology; of the disintegration of Russia as a single federative state; a threat of dictatorship. People say that a firm hand is needed: Yes, it is indeed, a firm hand in dealing with criminals and in implementing strict economic discipline, in observance of the laws. So go ahead, demonstrate that firmness! We are all in favor, and we will back such a firm hand. The situation that has arisen demands unequivocal decisions, the repeal of all unconstitutional decisions, a return to the path of seeking accord.

I think we can talk here and, doubtless, debate and find sensible solutions. I should like our session today, which has unfortunately been called suddenly on Sunday evening like this, to bring us on to the path of seeking a correct constitutional solution—only a constitutional one. Thank you for listening so closely to my introduction to our discussion.

Wants Yeltsin Presence

OW2103142493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov urged the parliament to cancel "all unconstitutional decisions" and pointed to the need to invite President Boris Yeltsin to the emergency session.

At its emergency session that opened at 4 p.m. [1300 GMT] on Sunday the Russian parliament is discussing one issue—President Yeltsin's address to the people of Russia. The session is attended by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, by the leaders of the Interior, Security and Defence Ministries, by the chairman of the Constitutional Court and by the Prosecutor General.

Deputies voted for presenting the session live on Channel 2 of Russian TV.

"I wish that our emergency session would lead us to the right decision based solely on the Constitution," Khasbulatov stressed.

"This concerns the fate of the president, and the fate of the country, and it would be right to invite Boris Yeltsin to the session," said the speaker in his opening statement. "Let him come here," said Khasbulatov.

Rutskoy Address

LD2203002193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1328 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Speech by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy at extraordinary session of Russian Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed deputies and members of the Supreme Soviet. I told you yesterday that as a representative of executive power and the vice president of the Russian Federation, I deeply regret what has taken place. The day before we discussed many times different possible ways out of the deadlock in the economy and domestic policy, which is taking shape in the Russian Federation. Such ways do exist, there are some preliminary projects on implementing them and they are essentially based on active interaction of all power structures in order to overcome the current economic and political situation. There is simply no other way out of the present situation. If one of the branches of power starts a conflict with another, you all understand very well that it could end in a far from pleasant way—let us put it so.

Working on these issues and on preparing suggestions concerning this interaction and having received from Boris Nikolayevich an approval, we began to develop those suggestions, so that we could at last discuss this matter and get down to really doing things—the things that the people of the Russian Federation are expecting us to do. The people are really tired of what is going on—we call this a reform, realizing that reform is a way toward a better future, but all results have turned out to be negative since the reform has brought us none of the expected increase in any economic indices, i.e. no improvement of the living conditions or any changes made in the interest of our society.

You all know very well that in consequence the economic crisis worsens the political crisis, and what we have today is in fact not an attempt to resolve the issues relating to the leaders of two branches of power, the

chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the president of the Russian Federation. Simply the situation itself is prompting such actions, perhaps unjustified on both sides—I don't want to assess the recent developments in legal terms now, this is to be done by the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Court whose right it is to make this sort of assessment—especially as I am a representative of executive power.

How did the things we are discussing today come to pass? You understand this perfectly well. One side is involved in preparing solutions which could make it possible for all structures and branches of power to interact in resolving the problems facing the Russian Federation, and the other side which both on the eve of the event and a year ago was going in the same direction and called itself democrats—but I used to turn this title into pseudo-democrats because if we are talking about democratic reforms, then let us stick to those democratic reforms.

And so in the end this decree emerged. The secretary of the Security Council refused to sign it, then it was brought to me, and I also refused to sign it, because if you just skim through it and then look at the articles of the Constitution, you will see that it is totally at variance with the articles of the Constitution. Naturally, one cannot agree to it, particularly in the situation that is now taking shape in our society, because, as you are all well aware, it is nothing but a confrontation between, on the one hand, two extremely radical wings, the left and the right, and on the other, the centrist forces, virtually all of which stand for democratic economic transformation in our society. In other words, instability is already emerging, social instability.

So in addition to the power crisis we also have social instability. Is this the course that ought to be chosen? Certainly not. Certainly not. We did propose various options, even in this same situation. We said, let us solve the problem in the following way. I believe, maybe I am wrong, but it is my opinion that the president has the right to put a question on trust in the referendum. He has that right. Because the president has been elected by a nationwide vote, and no one has any right to deprive him of that right: neither the Constitutional Court, nor the Supreme Soviet or the congress. So it is possible to agree to that idea [of the president] so as to sort the situation out.

But as to the remaining provisions of the proposed decree and the provisions which are set out there, they contradict the constitutional norms. That cannot be done. Therefore yesterday I did all I could to have a clear conscience after all. I spoke to Boris Nikolayevich on the phone, I also wrote him a letter, saying that I asked him in earnest to cancel his television address and not to sign any documents related to this address, so as to give, say, the Security Council an opportunity to look objectively at the proposals he was putting forward. I believe that had this indeed been done, there would have been no Supreme Soviet sitting today, the Constitutional Court would not have made a ruling on these actions, and there would not have been this confrontation, which is so far peaceful—for you see who gathered around the Supreme Soviet. Mass media would not have stirred up passions, and in general we would not have seen any of these measures, none of which contribute to stabilizing the situation in the Russian Federation.

Therefore, I would consequently request that the Supreme Soviet, the Constitutional Court and the Procuracy really do approach this issue in a constructive and objective manner, so as once again, nonetheless, in the final analysis objectively to evaluate the situation which has arisen and to resolve this problem calmly and democratically. Thank you for your attention.

Chernomyrdin Speech

LD2103200793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1335 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Speech by Prime Minister Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin at extraordinary session of Russian Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] I think, esteemed Presidium and esteemed members of the Supreme Soviet, that in the present situation the government is in the most difficult situation. In such an atmosphere, it is, of course, not very easy for any government to tackle the crucial problems of getting the country out of economic chaos. What do I have to say? I think the vice president, who has just put us in the picture about things here—and I think he told us about how events developed, and many people probably saw on television yesterday how events developed—I would ask just one thing, using the opportunity, using the opportunity of speaking from this rostrum: That people do not whip up emotions about all of us here, because the time we are going through and the events we are experiencing are far from straightforward. All the decisions passed here today and subsequently, in actual fact, have a fundamental decision [as heard], or they will have, for the future of our peoples, for the future of our country.

What can I say? A president who is elected by the whole people probably has the right to speak and make an address. Today, we held a sitting of the Presidium of the Government of the Russian Federation, and then an extended sitting of the Presidium with the participation of all the ministers and departments of our country on the outcome of this address. They said once again that the president, and precisely a president who has been elected by the whole people, has the right—it is his right to speak and to propose. It is another matter whether this is constitutional or unconstitutional. Let the specialists get to the bottom of this.

I can say one thing, that the government fully supports matters which concern the government here, and that which was expressed in the address to citizens of Russia

aimed at preventing anarchy, chaos, and political confrontation. I can only say again that I think it is hopeless in such a situation to speak about any problems or about tackling problems.

The government guarantees that legality and law and order will first and foremost be ensured today, and it favors the adoption of immediate measures to stabilize the situation and the creation of conditions for effective work and actions by executive power toward overcoming the economic, the constitutional, and the political crisis, without any use whatever of any strong-arm actions. The government is implementing, has only just begun to implement, in actual fact, a program of actions, worked out jointly with subjects of the Russian Federation, and is now taking, is trying to take all the necessary measures, including urgent ones, to ensure the stable work of sectors of the national economy and the constant functioning of the finance system, lines of communications, and means of communication. We again confirm and support the president's actions toward defending the rights, freedoms, and safety of citizens, and toward providing democratic conditions for the activity of political parties, public organizations, and movements, for freedom of the mass media, and for the preservation of the constitutional system as a whole.

The government declares that the power structures that form part of it, that form part of the Russian Government, and the ministers of defense, internal affairs, and security who are present here, will ensure order without drawing any forces, including the armed forces, the security forces, and the forces of law and order, into the political confrontation.

The government appeals to the leaders of the republics that form part of Russia, to the leaders of krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations, of organizations of the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, to the heads of organizations, departments, and to collectives, employees under all types of ownership, in all spheres and sectors of the national economy, and to all citizens of the multinational Russian Federation, today, right here and now, to show restraint and a civic spirit for the future of our country, for the future of Russia.

I ask once again, on behalf of the government—it is impossible to work in such a situation when today, we begin in a situation where it was impossible to reach this building, when rallies are going on, and when people have, as they say, been inundated with phone calls today. [shouting heard in hall] So, for this reason, I ask you, I ask you, esteemed deputies, I ask all of you behind these walls to show restraint, restraint, alone. Thank you. [scattered applause]

Zorkin Remarks

LD2103180693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1341 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Speech by Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin at extraordinary session of Russian Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed chairman, presidium, and people's deputies, esteemed vice president: It is a good thing that we are sitting here calmly today. It is said that passions need to cool down, but I think that it would be flippant to pretend that nothing has happened. Roughly since the spring of 1992 as you will recall, or generally speaking, even earlier than this, the Constitutional Court has had the opportunity here in your presence and in other places—at the congress, in the media—to say that the constitutional crisis in the country is growing. It was here as early as March or April 1992 when an attempt was made by what I would call a specific section of the president's entourage to cause a head-on clash between the legislative and executive authorities. Then it was possible to avert these first stirrings. Unfortunately, the lesson was not learned from this, and things were in an even more sickly state by December, and almost reached their culmination.

You will recall, incidentally, that at your request, esteemed people's deputies, and at the president's request, the Constitutional Court had to get involved. This was received in various ways by you as well, esteemed people's deputies, but it seemed to us then that when really special circumstances arose, in the sense that this happened in December, something had to be done as a warning. You must agree, there is no other way than to seek accord, otherwise confrontation will ensue and a striving, so to speak, toward absolute power. Unfortunately, no lesson was learned from this great and sad experience.

A government was established, apparently the kind of government which could be a government of national accord. The president retained his powers—in my view, in some spheres he had more powers than the President of the United States of America. The legislative body seemed to have strong powers too and the legislators gave the judicial authorities quite a lot of powers too. The question arises: What prevented further work within this system of the division of powers? We emphasized this, and I would now like to emphasize that what is outside the Constitution, the existing Constitution, is the ambition for more powers primarily on the part of the executive authorities, which are demanding all the new powers for itself, and this started to be reminiscent of the Gorbachev effect.

The confrontation escalated, and when I was in the United States of America and I had an opportunity to state this in the media yesterday—several days ago I learned that these planning documents were being prepared by the president's entourage. Naturally, I had to cut short my trip. Incidentally it was very instructive as I could see very clearly how the interaction between the legislative and executive authorities works. People get on with their lives and do not resort to some special situation, although not everything about each other suits them. I had to return.

My attempts to get in touch with the president over three days were unsuccessful. All in all, if such a thing happens

in a country governed by law, or a country that claims that description, I consider that it is then a state that is not governed by law. If the chairman of the Constitutional Court says it is urgent and necessary, then all in all I think in that case it would have been possible to avoid what happened yesterday.

The question arises of who is guilty of this—the president, or in fact his entourage who have blockaded him, whispered in his ear, and suggested to him that he is the sole savior of Russia. Boris Nikolayevich, I am unable to talks things over with you now, and I am appealing to you from this rostrum. Today—already after your statement yesterday—today I made several attempts to get in touch with you to tell you: Boris Nikolayevich, think, we are all people, Russians, perhaps you have made a mistake, perhaps a catastrophic mistake. But tell the parliamentarians this; after all, they are also Russians. Perhaps there is a chance, after all, in the final analysis, to jointly turn the development of Russia from a catastrophe to a consensus.

People's deputies, unfortunately, my voice was not heard and the president did not wish to speak on the telephone to me.

Of course, in these conditions, the Constitutional Court was unable to take place after yesterday's statement. We learned as early as that morning about the draft of the decree whose main parts were given voice in the statement. And the Constitutional Court conferred twice in conditions, so to speak, in such ultimate, such extreme conditions that we were unable to warn the public. And yesterday you heard our statement from the joint Constitutional Court. We believe that this was an attempt to erase the basic, fundamental principles of the constitution; first of all, to erase the principle of the division of powers.

Taking into account that power in this way has been concentrated to a considerable extent in the hands of one person, how is one to assess the statement that no [as heard] state bodies and officials which annul decrees by the president are null and void? That's what the statement said, right? What is this if not an attempt at a coup d'etat? The basis for this has been created, in any case.

The vice president was right when he said that this had not happened. Yes, we should be glad, but we should be aware through whose efforts it did not happen.

Accepting it in this way, the president was ready for further actions to implement this decree, or else it was simply a canard committed ideologically.

That is what the question consists of: Taking into account all the circumstances, the Constitutional Court this morning, last night, passed—it was already night—it was the early hours of today because it was at 0230 that we adopted the decision. Today we continued the conference. The Constitutional Court on its own initiative started the procedure and consideration of the question of the constitutionality and constitutional responsibility of the president and officials connected with the address which was heard on television yesterday. [applause]

It is sad for me to state this, but believe me once more, esteemed people's deputies: I am far from gloating. It is sad for us that the executive power did not agree to be reconciled with the legislative power and find a common language. I think it is not too late to take that step. Perhaps even now Boris Nikolayevich could do it. But I do not know how events will develop further. Therefore we have adopted the decision which I told you about.

We have called to the Constututional Court, the highest officials including the president, the vice president, the prime minister, the minister of defense, the minister of internal affairs, the minister of security, Vice Premier Shakhray, Head of the President's Administration Filatov, Minister of Justice Fedorov, and some other officials.

In the course of the preliminary hearings, precisely in the course of the hearings of Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov and Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, new names have been coming to the surface. I think the court is forced to occupy itself with this question. However, we could of course speed things up or slow them down somewhat, but we must examine the whole set of circumstances. Taking into account the fact that today the there were no further developments, so to speak, from that address, I think you will doubtless not hasten us too much toward that. I think that as I have listened to the draft of your resolution, you will indicate or express your will in some way.

Unfortunately the president did not answer that invitation from the Constitutional Court either, but conversations were held. I have already mentioned two surnames. I also had conversations with Prime Minister Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin, with Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy on this subject, with Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov, and with Minister Grachev. I think this promoted a certain clarification of the situation. Clearly some of them spoke today and will speak. The court will, of course, also examine these events.

What worries me is: This morning I sent two telephoned telegrams about urgently submitting to the court all documents connected with the address, the very text of it, the official text and all other documents—decrees, draft decrees, various elaborations, protocols and so on. So far I have not received a single one of them.

Esteemed people's deputies! The Constitutional Court would not like any confrontation to happen. Believe me, we are not seeking any ambitions. I am categorically sweeping aside the wave coming from the executive power and its supporters. I do understand now why there is such a similarity between the speech made by the president yesterday and the absolutely identical formulae voiced from various corners, and unfortunately by the justice minister, too. I deeply regret this and I feel bitter about it. The Constitutional Court is neither against the executive power, nor against the president.

nor against the parliament. We are the defenders of the constitution, and our duty is to maintain the balance of powers and defend the Constitution. The Constitutional Court will remain true to this duty. Thank you.

Barannikov Comments

LD2203122693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1354 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Speech by Security Minister Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov to the extraordinary session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, esteemed members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, esteemed Deputies:

I think that there is probably no point in stating the obvious, that the attention of the citizens of Russia is fixed on today's session. Moreover, it is particularly close attention, because the people have endured things to the limit and are tired of the exhausting confrontation between the various branches of power and the political battle in their own country, which in our time of peace lives in conditions similar to martial law. This, unfortunately, has its own inexorable, cruel logic.

The confrontation between the authorities and politics are inevitably giving rise to lawlessness, economic chaos, and the loss of reference points in life for a large section of the country's population. I have spoken to you several times and would today like to point out my two positions:

First, the longer the confrontation between the various branches of authority continues, the more we hand over time and opportunity to people who abuse the national, ethnic, and regional interests of people to achieve their own selfish, egotistical goals, which are advantageous to an exclusively narrow corporate group, and the more we will undermine the defense capability and security of our country.

Second, we will not be able to lift Russia without first achieving national accord, but that accord must be attained without using strong-arm methods.

Therefore I, as a minister, and the personnel of the state security system have been, are, and will be acting strictly in accordance with the law and the Russian Constitution. [applause]

Using the opportunity I have been offered, I would ask that we be given the opportunity to fulfill the tasks laid upon us without dragging us into the political and legal confrontation. For your information, the situation in Russia is normal. The situation is under control.

In conclusion, I would like to say....[pauses] To be more exact, I am prepared to guarantee that the security bodies and the border troops which are currently protecting our state borders—and you know that at present our borders are transparent, to put it mildly—will unconditionally abide by the law and the Constitution of Russia. Thank you. [brief applause]

Grachev on Stabilizing Army

LD2103235493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1403 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Speech by Defense Minister Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev at extraordinary session of Russian Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed members of the Supreme Soviet, I realize that this is a far from ordinary sitting. Like the whole of the Russian people, the army has been following recent events with alarm and today I have had telephone conversations with virtually all the commanders of the military districts and fleets. As minister of defense back at the Seventh Congress, I reported to you that the army has always dealt with the tasks entrusted to it by the Constitution and the law on defense, and will continue to do so. For the umpteenth time, I declare today that this will be the case. Have I ever given grounds during this period to doubt what I reported to the congress? I think that no one can harbor such doubts, although in the process of both the congress and the sittings of the Supreme Soviet individual deputies frightened you with the movement of troops in the direction of Moscow and the establishment of a dictatorship by the armed forces.

However, availing myself of the opportunity, I want to report to you that I do not see any great assistance in the area of stabilizing the situation in the army either from members of the Supreme Court or on the part of the Procurator General's Office or indeed from some deputies. Here is one example: Up to the present time certain political forces, having seen the situation in the armed forces, which on the whole are stable, particularly just recently—and once more I would like to report that the situation in the armed forces has stabilized considerably in the last two or three months—are nevertheless trying to play the army card.

For example, in the parliamentary center of the Supreme Soviet yesterday there was a so-called officers' assembly. Having carefully looked into this, we reached the conclusion that beneath the sign of the officers' assembly headed by former serviceman Terikh, the leadership was headed by the People's Deputy Ochalov. Representatives of other tendencies came for this officers' assembly, and a voice calling people to arms, to use force and to man the barricades was heard once more. Is that really constitutional? Is that really just? Is that really within the framework of the laws which state that the army is outside politics and the army should not get involved? I was not the one who adopted this. You gave me the order, and I am carrying this out. I appealed to these instances several times, orally, it is true. Unfortunately, evidently, I acted incorrectly. But so far I can't see any help and no one is calling these people to account. I request you once again to put this question to the vote and to provide assistance to the army.

I report to you that the army is controllable for the moment, and that it represents a stabilizing factor for the situation in Russia. This is our, and your, main achievement. Yet with every hour the situation is hotting up—the situation is hotting up among the troops in the Moscow region, especially, because of these actions. At present the armed forces could be split through precipitate decisions and actions. There is just one thing that this could lead to: bloodshed. I would not wish to further dramatize the consequences of the bloodshed if it happens—let's hope to God it won't. But I wish to remind you that we are living in the 20th, on the threshold of the 21st century, in a situation where there are nuclear and chemical weapons. The conclusion from this is that neither side must be allowed to achieve its political aims by such a route.

The army is appealing to you, esteemed people's deputies: In this situation compromises alone are what is needed. The entire people, including the army, await it. And I think you will find a way to resolve this critical problem. Thank you for your attention.

Criticism From Skokov

LD2203004193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1410 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Speech by Security Council Head Yuriy Skokov to extraordinary session of Russian Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Now about today's agenda. Not a single sitting of the Security Council has ever examined the introduction of any kind of state of emergency or presidential rule. I have received neither verbal nor written instructions from the president to prepare such an issue. [passage omitted]

Now about yesterday's events. There have been several conversations and detailed discussions with the president this week which discussed ways and plans for getting out of deadlock. The last such conversation took place on Friday and there was no talk at it about introducing some kind of special methods. Moreover, a clear-cut plan was elaborated and he accepted it. This plan is based on decisions made by the subjects of the federation which are expressed in their political statement, and I even prepared an appropriate draft decree at his request. Its aim is to implement the principles of the federation treaty and to try and form a system of state government in these troubled and incomprehensible conditions. This was on Friday, at 1200.

Yesterday morning I was offered to endorse a draft decree which in my view is contributing in some considerable measure to the worsening of the already complex social and political situation and which in my view could lead to a split in society and to the most unpredictable consequences. I even find it difficult to say what could have followed as a result. That is as far as the draft decree is concerned. I cannot say who prepared it and how. I expressed my disagreement and refused to endorse it. Following prolonged discussions I wrote the following official document to the president: Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, I wrote, considering the draft decree proposed by you permits me to conclude that the signing of a document like this can entail the consequences I have already described above. Therefore, I tried to persuade the president not to sign that decree and said that I could not endorse it. I have no idea what the consequences of this will be.

I think that Russia needs a president. Russia has always been a unitary state in essence but a federation in form. When the federation treaty was signed, it became a federation in essence and we are trying to give it a form of a unitary state. There is some contradiction here. This contradiction must be resolved. And we must resolve it by the normal constitutional ways. In conclusion, I will repeat what I already mentioned at the Seventh Congress. We must resolve all our problems by constitutional means. Neither the presidential structure of power, nor any local power structure nor parliament—none of these can today resolve the issue by using strong-arm methods in our country. That would lead to chaos and to Russia losing its statehood and to disintegration. That must not be permitted. Thank you.

Ispravnikov Assails Yeltsin

LD2103223693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1440 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Speech by Supreme Economic Council Chairman Vladimir Olegovich Ispravnikov at extraordinary session of Russian Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Presidium, esteemed people's deputies, esteemed vice president, esteemed members of the government, esteemed colleagues: I don't want to speak today on behalf of some group, or some faction, but you know, on behalf of the spirit at the very first Congress of People's Deputies, when we came for the first time and started carrying out our deputies' duties, when we were full of the best aspirations, when this moral philosophical concept, when we adopted a declaration on the sovereignty of Russia, when—by the way- -we elected Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin to the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, the current president, who just recently made this address. [sentence as heard]

I think that time has passed, and we, as people's deputies, as legislators, should assess clearly and in accordance with procedure any actions, in whatever direction they may be aimed. I think that if we are going to prepare documents today, and we have a drafting commission elected, then in my view, in any case, we should cover four issues.

First, an assessment of the actions of the president, of his address, and the so-called draft decrees. Second, the legal measures that should be taken in response by the bodies of representative power—yes, we must take certain steps in response. Third, I think that we have to touch on the

economic aspects of this problem. Finally, we must think about sociopolitical actions and the sociopolitical situation.

When my colleagues, and the previous speakers, spoke about an assessment, then of course there's no doubt: The address is of an anticonstitutional nature, and this, to our great misfortune, won't surprise us. Nor should we be surprised by the fact that the decisions of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies are not in fact being implemented. It is something different that is surprising. Let's take a look at the other decrees of the president that he signed on Thursday [18 March], literally just prior to the address. What do these decrees talk about? About this, and I quote word by word: In accordance with the resolution of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies, the chairman of the Central Bank, the chairman of the Federal Property Fund, and so on, are to be included in the government.

So what do we have here? Clearly, a recognition of resolutions of the Eighth Congress, and suddenly, a failure to recognize other acts. What we have here, is, in my view, subjectivism of action on the part of the supreme official, a relapse into the past which we subsequently rejected so loudly.

So I think we have to sort out where the essence of the problem lies. Why is it that politicians, who are, in my view, irresponsible, and the mass media in their hands, are whipping up the thesis of a struggle for power? Certainly, this thesis is a fabrication. This is an attempt to lead public opinion away from obvious failures in economic policy, from the flourishing corruption and abuse in the bodies of power and administration, and from wild ventures in resolving the most urgent problems. This is a clear way of putting it, and no one, no activists, no politicians, nor bodies of executive and legislative power, can get away from it.

Second, legal actions. I think that it is no coincidence that we have a Supreme Soviet and a congress of people's deputies. No one, in accordance with the constitution of the Russian Federation, has the right either to suspend or to block them, and we have procedures for this. At today's Supreme Soviet we have to give an assessment of the address and actions by the president, and if this runs counter to the decisions of the congress of people's deputies, then the next thing is clearly to raise the question of the immediate convocation of an extraordinary congress of people's deputies. [passage omitted]

I also think that at the congress we should give a final assessment—this is in its sphere of its competence—of the address. I think the congress will give it, and I think there is no need to fear a referendum here. If it is necessary, then let us examine the question, for example, with this formulation: Do you agree with the congress's expression of no confidence in the president of the Russian Federation? I also think that we certainly should achieve the adoption of the amendments at the congress of people's deputies which failed to get through by one or two votes as amendments to the constitution at the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies. You should not cite this as a usurpation of power. What is at issue is normal democratic procedures accepted in all countries of the world. [passage omitted]

Well, I think that the references to the economy here are an attempt, of course, to patch up the failures caused by the mistakes in the implementation of the economic policy. Well, let's look at the compensation scheme for the savings of the population. Viktor Stepanovich [Chernomyrdin], I have repeatedly sent you papers and elaborations, and the commissions, the committees and the Supreme Economic Council are ready to cooperate with the government. But there has been no answer. I understand this as an attempt to seize the political initiative, but in my view it will be more beneficial for us to work out by joint efforts the state program on compensation for the savings of the population.

I cannot refrain from talking about the fourth item. I should honestly admit that I voted against its resolutions. I think that the question of transferring the chairman of the bank to the government is a fabricated question. This is a question which is not worked out, and the government cannot regulate the relationship procedure between the bank, the Supreme Soviet, and the government, and I am afraid of the other consequences, since the government today is transferring the center of gravity and responsibility to the regions. What signals do we get from there? The heads of administrations are already making attempts to include in the administration heads of boards of the Central Bank, and property funds etc. You know that even under the totalitarian party regime, the world has not seen that, it is a total mutual cover-up. [passage omitted]

Khasbulatov Closing Speech

LD2103194993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1658 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Concluding statement by Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to the Supreme Soviet extraordinary session in Moscow—live]

[Text] A large group of our deputies and myself made a trip to a number of our former republics which are now sovereign countries—Ukraine, Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and, finally, last night we visited Alma-Ata. Today we had to cut this visit short and return here. The first feeling one gets when talking about this is, frankly speaking, a feeling of shame—terrible shame—well, just shame, that says it all—for the actions which are being carried out here and which, as a rule, are being interpreted in the light of this so-called confrontation. This confrontation will go on endlessly regardless of who will occupy this or that seat. I assure you it will be so unless we change this system of supreme rule, with its current principles and the people involved in it. As for this particular situation, let us try and not shut our eyes to the truth. We are talking about a political regime in the

throes of death. It cannot be interpreted otherwise and we should not pretend that we do not see this. If we saw this long ago and helped it, all of us, instead of trying to defend someone or something zealously and blindly, then such a situation would not have arisen. Nor would we have had this disgraceful thing which is now going on in front of the whole world. I am ashamed, frankly ashamed, and you know quite well who is to blame for this.

Therefore, let us decide once and for all. We have had enough bitter lessons so we should not deviate from the Constitution anymore—not an alteration of a single comma should be permitted, either in laws or in officials' actions. I would like to draw your special attention to what our respected ministers of internal affairs, security, and defense have been saying here—have I forgotten anyone? No, I think I have listed all of them. I understand their situation. They are having a difficult time. They are being jerked in different directions and they are literally fed up with all those instructions and demands for personal obedience and personal allegiance when it is the Constitution, order, the people, and the motherland that they should be loyal to, and no one else.

You, Pavel Sergeyevich [Grachev], do not hurry to peep into people's pockets. [sentence as heard] You complain about one person, then another, then about [Deputy] Urazhtsev, now about someone else, and all the time you do not seem to remember that here, at the Supreme Soviet, laws and decisions are being adopted, scanty financial resources are being allocated to the upkeep of our Army, and we will allocate even more funds as and when that becomes possible. But you must fulfill your duty as you should. We can see very well what is happening to the Army—millions of young officers, up to the rank of battalion commanders—where are they? They are running away from you, and you are pretending that you do not know this. As for us, we can see this perfectly well. The same with the other ministers—please come and talk about your problems. We will help you as much as we can. Regrettably, we keep getting these signals time and again. You are being pressured and you submit to someone or something—an end must be put to this. The same applies to the premier. Okay, we are happy to help you, but please, try to avoid appeals of this kind—utterly toothless, incomprehensible, failing to impose definite obligations on anyone, from which it is hard to tell whom or what you are supporting and what you are trying to say. Esteemed colleagues, thank you very much for understanding correctly the issues of constitutional legality. At last we all are starting to get the meaning of it. Thank you and goodbye.

Resolution Issued

OW2103173993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian parliament has evaluated the appeal Yeltsin made on Saturday and the simultaneous announcement of "special administrative rule" in the country as "an attempt on the constitutional fundamentals of the Russian state" and has appealed to the Constitutional Court with an inquiry into the constitutionality of the president's actions.

According to the text of the resolution which the emergency session of parliament approved "in its entirety" on Sunday [21 March], the parliament has appealed to the general prosecutor with the request that it "establish the responsibility of all officials which partook in preparing the appeal" of the president.

The third point of the resolution calls on organs of state power on a federal level and local authorities at all levels to take essential measures to support lawfulness and law and order, the operative management of the economy and defend human rights and civil freedom.

Appeal to Constitutional Court

LD2103202193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1754 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Yuriy Filippov and Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—The Russian Parliament, which met in an emergency session on Sunday to consider President Yeltsin's move to introduce rule-by-decree bypassing the legislature, decided to appeal to the Constitutional Court of Russia to look into the constitutionality of the Russian president's actions and decisions. The resolution adopted by the session calls on the procurator-general of Russia to investigate the responsibility of all officials who took part in preparing the Russian president's address to the nation.

The resolution makes it binding on the government of the Russian Federation, the bodies of state authorities in republics within the Russian Federation, territories, autonomous regions, the autonomous area and the major cities "to take all necessary measures to maintain law and order, efficiently run the economy and protect human and civil rights and freedoms. [no end quotation marks as received]

The parliament adopted an appeal to the parliaments, governments and nations of the world, in which Russian people's deputies call on them to display "wisdom and restraint and avoid actions which can endanger Russian democracy".

The resolution expresses regret concerning "the official stand of the leaders of a number of countries in support of unconstitutional actions of President Yeltsin."

The Russian Parliament announced that it will permit "no intervention in Russia's internal affairs."

Presidium of Parliament To Continue Session 22 Mar

OW2203113493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1109 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On March 22 the Presidium of Russia's Supreme Soviet will continue the session that started in the evening on Saturday [20 March] to discuss the points that have remained on the agenda. Presidium members have been offered the draft of a law amending Article 176 of the RF [Russian Federation] constitution. The amendments give more powers to the attorney-general to check compliance with laws and decisions of the RF and republican governments. The need to extend the attorney-general's powers was underlined by the 7th Congress of People's Deputies in its decision "on the state of law and campaign against crime and corruption." The session will also examine a bill "on state support for the development of the resort-city of Sochi" and "on the social and economic situation in the Jewish autonomous region."

Correspondent Reports on Meeting

LD2203152793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1315 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy]

[Excerpts] Everything was quiet at the Supreme Soviet today and it is relatively quiet outside the building, although people with red banners are gathering in small groups in the vicinity. [passage omitted]

The Supreme Soviet passed its resolution in a hurry yesterday, and an inaccuracy has crept into media reports, including those of Mayak, which the press service of the Supreme Soviet would like to point out. In front of me I have the Supreme Soviet resolution signed by Khasbulatov which was adopted at yesterday's sitting. In accordance with it this resolution a decision was made to apply to the Constitutional Court with a request to check the constitutionality of the actions and decisions of the president of the Russian Federation in connection with his address to the people on 20 March. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that it is actions and decisions, and not decrees, as was reported in particular by Mayak.

But the letter to the Constitutional Court asks the Constitutional Court to conclude as to whether there are reasons to suspend the president of the Russian Federation from his post. [passage omitted]

Yesterday's decisions at the Supreme Soviet were not discussed at all at the Presidium session. One important thing: The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet thought it necessary to put forward for a Supreme Soviet session the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia on the recognition of the Republic of South Ossetia. This resolution was adopted by the North Ossetia Supreme Soviet at the beginning of the month. The point is, in line with the Constitution, Russian foreign policy is the responsibility of federal authorities. Therefore there was a violation of the Constitution and this can create a conflict situation between Russia and Georgia. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet will recommend that the Supreme Soviet recognize this act of the North Ossetia Supreme Soviet to be null and void. [passage omitted]

I have also just been told that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has put forward the issue of a television channel for the Supreme Soviet for the session agenda.

Supreme Soviet Deputy Appraises Yeltsin Declaration

LD2203012293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0035 GMT 22 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar—The Russian president's appeal has not passed without leaving its mark on society. "It has unsettled literally everyone, above all the leadership, above all enterprise," Nikolay Travkin, Russian Supreme Soviet people's deputy, stated yesterday in an interview for the "Vesti" television program. In his words, nothing hindered reforms, and now "there is no legislative brake on reforms." "At this moment, when people are beginning to demonstrate independence, to demonstrate some kind of normal, businesslike, skillfull initiative, their hands are again tied: stop, do not fuss." In his opinion, nothing had stopped the president from carrying out all the points reflected in the appeal. "The president," Nikolay Travkin stated, "has not ended his sentence with a period, he has put several fat question marks. And today the whole country is sitting above this crossword."

Nikolay Travkin believes "it is the government that should dot the i's," but, as a result of the struggle between the two branches of power, the government's "hands are tied very tightly indeed." "What we have now is anarchy," the people's deputy emphasized. He said the government's hands should be untied, and "then we will be able to get moving out of the economic standstill and bring some elementary order." Nikolay Travkin forecasts that "the president will not gain unrestrained support." The parliament's chances are also "extremely low," according to him. "For the tragedy of this parliament is that everyone in it is on his own. We chose at rallies those who criticize better." He hoped that in the next multiparty elections choices would be based on programs, not criticisms.

Regional Reaction to Yeltsin Announcement Reported

Moscow Soviet Appeals for Calm

LD2203043293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0410 GMT 22 Mar 93

[From the "Utro" program]

[Text] The Presidium of the Moscow City Soviet has adopted an appeal to Muscovites: taking into consideration heated political passions, the Presidium appeals to Muscovites to preserve calm, legality, and order. At 1000 today [0700 GMT] an extraordinary session of the Moscow City Soviet is due to start, it has been reported. In order to prevent disturbances, guards have been brought to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's building, the White House. This was told to an RIA correspondent by Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Russian Federation Communists. Zyuganov said representatives of the National Salvation Front, political parties and movements, the Officers' Alliance, and Russian Unity are guarding the White House.

Urals Military Command Follows Orders

OW2203142693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1407 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A spokesman for Urals Military District told INTERFAX that the District Command is strictly adhering to the provisions contained in General Pavel Grachev's comments at the emergency session of the RF [Russian Federation] Supreme Soviet last Sunday, although, he said, there was a divergence of views in that regard on the part of the officers' corps. The District Command is confident that neither the armed forces, as a whole, nor the Urals Military District, in particular, would ever be involved in any political games.

Yakutia Appeals for Unity

OW2203142893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1407 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliament presidium and government of the Sakha (Yakutian) Republic of the Russian Federation have published an address to the people of the republic saying that the confrontation in the top echelons of Russia's state authority has taken an extremely destructive form. The Sakha Republic's parliament and government believe the unity of the Russian Federation must be preserved on the basis of the effective interaction of the three branches of authority and the efficient functioning of the entire political system.

The sovereign republics and other constituent units of the Russian Federation must play the decisive role in settling the conflict, the address says. The Sakha Parliament and Government stress their "resolute support" for the National Sovereignty Declaration and Constitution of the Sakha Republic, the Russian Federation's Constitution, and the Federal Treaty.

Tatarstan Urges Consultations

OW2103144193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tatarstan's leadership "closely follows" the development of events in Moscow, and intends to officially express its point of view "in the near future," Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev said on Sunday [21 March] in an exclusive interview with IF [INTERFAX].

He urged the president and the parliament speaker "to begin direct consultations" with members of the Russian Federation. "The various regions should get convinced that the measures the Center is taking are right, adequate and legitimate, Tatarstan's vice president said. According to him, one of the ways to bridge the gap between political realities and the outdated Constitution is "to sign treaties and agreements between the Center and the regions".

Tatarstan's parliament will discuss the situation in Moscow on Monday, said Likhachev.

Petersburg City Council Urges Calm

LD2203104893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1026 GMT 22 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] St. Petersburg March 22 TASS—The smaller board of the St. Petersburg City Council considers it a way out of the political crisis to prepare a new election of all representatives of both branches of power on the basis of a new constitution, adopted by a constitutional assembly, not congress, and on the basis of new laws on political parties and elections.

The city council deputies reaffirmed support for the policy course towards deepening democracy and keeping the territorial integrity of Russia and called on the residents of the city to be calm and observe legality.

Speaking at a meeting of the smaller board, Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak suggested supporting the president and the government in carrying out economic reform and arranging the springtime country-wide poll.

Rostov-on-Don. The Cossacks are prepared "to form a government that will offer its services to the people on the strength of a mass democratic election," Vasiliy Kalegin, Attaman (chieftain) of the Don Cossack Union, told a press conference.

He believes that "the top echelons of power have made the people play the role of a child who is asked whom he loves more—the father or mother. We, playing the humiliating role, must make the choice: By giving priority to the executive authority, one can get a dictatorship. Making the choice in favour of lawmakers would mean to get anarchy," the Don Cossack leader said.

Kemerovo. The president of Russia, through his actions , "has practically deposed the legislative power in the country," Aman Tuleyev, chairman of the Kemerovo Regional Council, stated in a Kemerovo Radio broadcast on Monday. He believes that the president has "suspended the judicial power as well."

Tuleyev believes that the president has staged a coup d'etat and is introducing a presidential dictatorship. All this undermines the principles of federalism, the Kemerovo Regional Council chief emphasised. Russia is being deliberately pushed to disintegration into individual principalities.

Efforts should be made to prevent a situation in which "an overwhelming proportion of the population balances on the verge of survival and is being pushed to an abyss of civil war", Tuleyev said.

At the same time he called for holding a referendum without delay about trust not only in the president but also in the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia and suggested that an early election of people's deputies at all levels be held and that a "government of people's trust" be elected.

Irkutsk. "The president's address to the people will possibly promote an early election. Herein I visualise a way out of the current deadlock," Viktor Ignatenkko, chairman of the Irkutsk Regional Council, stated in an interview published in special issue of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODYOZH (SOVIET YOUTH) on Monday.

For his part, Yuriy Nozhikov, who has been relieved of his position of the regional administration chief by a presidential decree, said "this proved no news to me. When I was being appointed to the position, I told Boris Nikolayevich that I must work independently and take care of the interests of the population."

Opinions Differ

LD2203130493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin's address to the nation announcing introduction in Russia of a special rule for the purpose of overcoming the political crisis has evoked immediate response in the Russian republics and regions.

Parliamentary sessions have opened today in the Tatar and Buryat Republics, following yesterday's emergency session of the federal parliament which assessed the presidential decision as anti-constitutional.

In other republics and regions the reaction ranges from full support for Boris Yeltsin's move, to demands for his resignation. The head of the Perm Administration, Boris Kuznetsov, has approved of the presidential initiative to conduct a nationwide vote of confidence in the president and vice-president on 25 April. Boris Yeltsin suggested holding a simultaneous vote on drafts of the new constitution and the law on elections to the federal legislature.

The parliament and the Congress of Peoples' Deputies will not be dissolved until new elections. The presidential spokesman in Khabarovsk region, Vladimir (Lysyatov), has described as highly democratic President Yeltsin's decision to hear what the people think. According to him the president should stand up for democratic achievements and defend the people whom the Bolsheviks could plunge into a bloody revolution prone with a civil war.

In Tomsk, Kemerovo, and Murmansk the local councils support the parliament and the Constitutional Court Chairman, Valeriy Zorkin, assessing Boris Yeltsin's actions as illegal.

Leaders Comment

LD2203152493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1324 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Responses are continuing to come in from various regions of Russia to President Boris Yeltsin's television address to the people on Saturday.

The Lesser Soviet of the Kamchatka Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, which gathered for an emergency sitting with trade union leaders and representatives of political parties and movements, decided to support the address by the president of the Russian Federation to the people on holding a nationwide ballot on the issue of confidence in the president and vice president. The Lesser Soviet has submitted a legislative initiative to the Russian Supreme Soviet on putting the issue of confidence in the Congress of People's Deputies to a nationwide ballot.

The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet acted correctly in entrusting the settlement of problems caused by the Russian president's address to the Constitutional Court—a legally competent and empowered body—for examination. That is the view of Yevgeniy Kuznetsov, head of the Stavropol kray administration, and of Yuriy Goncharenko, chairman of the kray Soviet of People's Deputies. Both leaders shared what are, in the main, identical views at a meeting today with representatives of public movements, political parties, and the local mass media.

The views of the Chelyabinsk authorities diverged. A decision by the Lesser Oblast Soviet states that the president's proposal to introduce a special regime of government and its implementation on the oblast's territory without the consent of the oblast soviet should be deemed "illegal and impermissible." However, Vadim Solovyev, head of the oblast administration, supports the president's address, and gave an assurance that "the appropriate decrees will be carried out precisely."

At a meeting which Vladimir Suslov, head of the Tver Oblast administration, held with the oblast leadership, it

was noted that "there have been no recommendations from Moscow, so the people of Tver are continuing to work as normal."

The Lesser Soviet of the Sakhalin Oblast Soviet thinks the president's address to the people is "destabilizing the situation" in Russia. In the view of deputies, the situation on Sakhalin and the Kurils after the Eighth Congress does not require a special regime of government. "What has happened is not a subject for special investigation and discussion," according to Nikolay Yegorov, head of the Krasnodar kray administration. In his opinion, the president has the constitutional right to appeal to his fellow citizens, and he has used it. The problem which has arisen is more "moral and ethical than political." Calling what is happening in the capital "Moscow battles," Nikolay Yegorov called for the preservation of the business-like situation which has recently prevailed in Kuban.

The Kurgan oblast administration supports the presidential decision on holding a nationwide vote on confidence in him as head of state. A press statement signed today by the administration head, Valentin Gerasimov, talks of support "for the president's effort to persistently carry out a policy aimed at accelerating the democratic transformations, economic reforms, and increasing the rights and responsibility of existing executive authorities as a basis of the social guarantees for society."

More Leaders Speak Out

LD2203111993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] ITAR-TASS correspondents are reporting reactions in various regions of Russia to the political events of last weekend. Aleksandr Kostin, chairman of Kirov Oblast Soviet, believes that in the present situation, the wisest move is to prevent political passions from reaching confrontation point. The way the situation develops will depend not only on the bodies of power and administration but on every working man. No one will do the field work for us, build machine tools, build houses, or bake bread. It is real deeds that count where strengthening our statehood and bringing our country out of crisis are concerned, Aleksandr Kostin thinks.

Eduard Rossel, head of Sverdlovsk oblast administration, Anatoliy Gribenkin, chairman of the oblast soviet, and the president's representative Vitaliy Mashkov, expressed their support today for President Yeltsin's proposal for a poll on 25 April, and his measures for socioeconomic stabilization.

There may be a general strike in Khakassiya if the constitutional order is not restored in Russia very soon: Anatoliy Dankovtsev, chairman of the republic's Federation of Trade Unions, has issued this warning. The special regime of government which Boris Yeltsin spoke of will not be effective in Kuzbass, members of the Kuzbass Oblast Lesser Soviet [Malyy Sovet] of Deputies declared today. The majority of the deputies believe that as a first step, the Russian Federation Constitutional Court should establish whether Boris Yeltsin's actions are in keeping with the Constitution. The Lesser Soviet backed Boris Yeltsin's proposal to hold a poll on the people's confidence in the president on 25 April.

Officials Comment

LD2203080693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0756 GMT 22 Mar 93

["Comments in Russia on President Yeltsin's TV address"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Khabarovsk —"The president states: you may censure me and remove from office. This is the highest form of the manifestation of democracy that we have attained", Vladimir Desyatov, representative of the president in Khabarovsk territory, said in a local radio broadcast on Monday in comment on Boris Yeltsin's recent televised address to the people of Russia.

Desyatov believes that the president is obliged to defend "the gains of freedom, to defend people whom Bolsheviks can again plunge into a sanguinary revolutionary coup and lead to a civil war".

The representative of the president is of the opinion that a special administration procedure is not a state of emergency and not a dictatorial method of administration. "Since the Supreme Soviet (parliament) is incapable of passing bills on the fight against corruption and crime, on administrative structures, they will be endorsed by the president in the form of decrees. This will be the protection of the rights of the individual and the restoration of order," Desyatov stated.

Vladivostok—President Yeltsin's televised address is yet another step capable of destabilising the situation in the country still further, Yuriy Yakovlev, chairman of the Primorie (Maritime Territory) organisation of the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR], told ITAR-TASS.

"The Supreme Soviet had vested the president with emergency powers which he proved incapable of applying for the benefit of Russia," Yakovlev said. "The president did not fulfil the promise to improve the living conditions of people in Russia and has now decided vent his revenge on people's deputies. This is why Yeltsin should resign", he said.

Yakovlev emphasised that this is the opinion not only of the DPR's Primorie organisation but also of the territorial organisations of other Civil-Union parties that believe that it would be essential to elect a president and a Supreme Soviet within the next two to three months following Yeltsin's self-resignation.

At the same time Vladimir Kuznetsov, administration chief of Maritime Territory, in an ITAR-TASS interview, stated the administration's unequivocal support for Boris Yeltsin. "We do not intend to counterpose

branches of power to one another. At the same time, we are preparing, in line with our duties, for an April 25 all-Russia poll".

Murmansk—"It seems that a political card is being played in Moscow once again, from which the country's population will hardly benefit," Yuriy Berger, deputy chief of the regional administration, told ITAR-TASS, expressing his "personal attitude" to the developments of recent days.

In the opinion of Berger, power should be concentrated in the hands of one person who would act strictly within the framework of laws and would be accountable to the people. Berger believes that both the legislative and executive branches of power should "discontinue debates and at last address in earnest vital economic tasks".

Parties, Movements React

LD2103164093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1339 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—St. Petersburg—Representatives of parties and movements in opposition to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the All-Russia Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the Russian Communist Workers Party, the "Nashi" (Ours) Movement, Communists for Civil Rights, Labour Leningrad, the Russian National Assembly, the Liberal-Democratic Party and Union of Officers are meeting to discuss the political situation in Russia. Democratic Russia supporters plan to work out a document in support of the Russian president.

Moscow - The Popular Party Free Russia described Boris Yeltsin's decree on presidential rule as "an attempt at solving by forcible methods the problems which have arisen as a result of the failure of the economic policy. The party leaders said in a statement released today that the president's actions were "incomparable with the principles of democracy" and called on all political forces to refrain from violence and continue roundtable consultations.

Moscow - The Russian Union "Shield" declared its support for the Russian president and called on all servicemen to show reserve and patience and obey the orders of the supreme commander and the defence minister.

Barnaul - The leaders of the Altay Territorial Council of People's Deputies and territorial administration held a joint conference today to discuss President Yeltsin's address to the people and decree introducing presidential rule in the country. Unofficial sources told ITAR-TASS that an agreement was reached to act in concert and to refrain from immediate action. Meanwhile, an avalanche of telephone calls has swept the local administration and the city council in the territorial centre. Representatives of different parties and movements ask for a place to meet to discuss the president's address and express thoughts and feelings in connection with it. Local authorities are doing everything they can to prevent crowds from overrunning the streets and squares of the territorial centre.

Russian president's representative in Altay Nikolay Shuba appeared on TV-Siberia programme to tell the viewers that the 8th Congress of People's Deputies had virtually removed the president from power and thus forced him to decide on the introduction of a special rule.

Voronezh - The Presidium of the Regional Council today adopted a resolution in which the Russian president's address is described as "a departure from the constitution in force", Council Chairman Ivan Shabanov told ITAR-TASS. The presidium demanded that the president, the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Court "urgently regulate all differences fraught with unpredictable conflicts for Russia".

Kemerovo - Russian President Boris Yeltsin's appeal to the people is not a coup, as some people would like to picture it. It is an attempt at overcoming the consequences of the coup committed by the 8th Congress of People's Deputies of Russia, according to Aleksey Tsvetinovich, co-chairman of the Movement of Democratic Reform Supporters in Kuzbass.

Reliable sources told ITAR-TASS that Boris Yeltsin's opponents in Kuzbass are preparing rallies in support of the representative power in Russia. They intend to picket Army units and military schools in the region.

More on Reaction

LD2103165093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1628 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—Yaroslavl - Chairman of the Yaroslavl Regional Council Aleksandr Veselov said Yeltsin's appeal to the citizens of Russia was an act of courage. Veselov told ITAR-TASS that Yeltsin's proposals deserve scrupulous attention. He spoke in support of the vote on confidence in the president and the vice president. Since no accord was reached at the Congress of People's Deputies, let the people decide, who need confidence and work. No pressure must be brought to bear on each individual's choice. It is necessary to conduct the polls in a civilised manner, Veselov said. At the same time, he said he was ready to support "only constitutionally correct decisions of the president."

Tambov - Several hundred people led by activists of the regional patriotic movement "Fatherland" marched down the central streets of the city chanting slogans in support of the congress and soviets of all levels. Speakers at a meeting in front of the regional administration

headquarters called for the protection of constitutional bodies of power by legal means.

St. Petersburg - The Congress of People's deputies initiated the constitutional crisis in the country when it denied the multi- national Russian population the right to decide on private land ownership and the state system of Russia as a whole, according to the leaders of the St. Petersburg branches of the Free Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union. The leaders said in a joint statement that they support the president's efforts aimed at normalising the political situation, ensuring law and order and preserving Russia's territorial integrity. The way out of the crisis must be found on the basis of a national referendum on the fundamentals of the state system and on the election of new bodies of power for the transitional period.

The party "The Union for Progress in Russia" also spoke out in support of the president. Its leaders called on all citizens of Russia who have a sense of responsibility for the fate of the country to express their support for the president at meetings of work collectives and let the mass media know about such meetings and their resolutions. The party also called for preparations for the vote on April 25.

The organising bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Workers' Party blasted Boris Yeltsin for his "attempts to establish presidential dictatorship". Communists accused the head of state of "repeated violations of the constitution, promoting the disintegration of the Soviet Union and of playing up to Mafia-like structures".

Rallies, Meetings Called

LD2103134693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1315 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] St. Petersburg—Political rallies and meetings are being called in this city today. Representatives of parties and movements in opposition to the president of Russia intend to discuss the political situation in the country and adopt resolutions. Supporters of the Democratic Russia Movement hope to work out a joint document in support of the president and his address to the citizens of Russia. A mass rally is expected to be held in Palace Square in the afternoon.

Kemerovo, West Siberia—The Russian president's actions set out in his address to the nation are constitutional. According to Co-Chairman of the Council of Kuzbass Economic Managers Vyacheslav Klimov. Klimov told TASS that the president had used his right because the other side, the legislature, violated the right of voters to have a say on the basic problems of the constitution and life.

ITAR-TASS learned from reliable sources that opponents of the Russian president in Kuzbass are preparing protest meetings. They intend to picket the Army units deployed in the region and the military schools.

Krasnoyarsk, East Siberia—"I think the constitution must be strictly abided by on the territory of the Russian Federation", Chairman of the Territorial Council of People's Deputies Vyacheslav Novikov told ITAR-TASS on Sunday. "I understand the president's concern over the situation in the country. It is normal that he decided to hold counsel with the people in this situation. I support his decision if it is implemented in accordance with the constitution of our state".

Chelyabinsk, The Urals—"I fully support Boris Yeltsin's televised address", head of the regional administration Vadim Solovyev told ITAR-TASS. "Our duty is to obey his decrees. Last week we held a conference at which the heads of administration of the cities and districts spoke about the need to introduce presidential rule in the country to stabilise the economic and political situation. We are ready to assume full responsibility for holding the national poll in our region just as the president called for, and we shall attract all democratic forces in the region to this work". No official announcements were made in the Regional Council's press centre by noon.

Novosibirsk—Head of Administration of Novosibirsk Region Vitaliy Mukha said the president's decision to relieve him of his duties was a violation of his rights as a people's deputy of the Russian Federation, a head of administration and a citizen. Mukha said in a statement to ITAR-TASS that the president "violated the law on the procedure of relieving of duties" of the heads of regional executives. The presidential decision was made without consent of the Regional Council of People's Deputies.

A committee for the protection of the constitution was set up in Novosibirsk today with representatives of left wing parties and movements as its main members.

Vologda—The president had every right to turn to the people again in a situation which is crucial for the country, head of administration of the Vologda region Nikolay Podgornov told ITAR- TASS. "We must all work and live in peace, without permitting further confrontation, and make our choice on the day of the referendum", he said.

Lipetsk—"I deeply regret that the president found it possible to ignore the fundamental law of the Russian Federation", Chairman of the Lipetsk Regional Council of People's Deputies Oleg Korolev told ITAR-TASS. He said the legislature must ensure strict compliance with the constitution in this situation.

Abakan—Participants in an emergency joint meeting of the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Khakasia adopted an instruction to local authorities "to take guidance exclusively from the provisions of the constitution and the decisions of the 8th Congress of People's Deputies."

Kyzyl—Members of the Parliament of the Republic of Tuva held an emergency meeting on Sunday morning to discuss President Yeltsin's address to the citizens. Most of the speakers were critical of the president's address.

Arkhangelsk—"The situation in the Arkhangelsk region after the president's address to the citizens of Russia is quite normal and all structures work normally", the Russian president's representative in the region Valeriy Krimnus told ITAR-TASS. "I think the Russian president has given people's deputies the last chance to pull out of the crisis of power in a civilised way," he said.

Cherkessk—The only guarantee of stability is the strengthening of trust between the president, the parliament and the Constitutional Court Prosecutor Yuriy Lushnikov of the Karachay-Cirkassia told ITAR-TASS. "The victory of any one branch of power means dictatorship", he said.

Syktyvkar—The situation remains quiet in the Republic of Komi. No events connected with the president's address to the nation were reported in the morning and early afternoon and no action, resolution or statement is expected to be issued by the parliament and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Komi, local sources said.

Miners in Vorkuta continue work as usual, according to Vorkuta administration head Aleksandr Segal, who is also chairman of the City Council of People's Deputies. The labour leaders of Vorkuta intend to hold a joint meeting of the Vorkuta City Workers Committee and the Council of Representatives of the Independent Miners' Labour Union to discuss their actions in the new situation.

Nizhnyy Novgorod—Chairman of the Regional Council of People's Deputies Yevgeniy Krestyaninov told ITAR-TASS in his comment on the presidential address that "we do not know yet what documents to take guidance from in our activity. It looks as if attempts are being made to run the country with the help of television. Judging by the president's address, his actions are at variance with the powers vested in him. We shall be guided by the constitution and legislation."

Ivan Sklyarov, the region's vice governor, said "the sentiments of the president, the vice president and the Constitutional Court chairman are not to their credit. It is important now to avoid building up tension. The political, social and economic situation must be changed, but without haste. At least, we in our region have complete mutual understanding between all branches of power and the enforcement structures".

Kursk—Neo-communists held a meeting here today, attended by more than 200 people. They adopted an address to express support for the bodies of representative power and no confidence in the president.

Chita—"The president's programme voiced by himself in his address to the nation contains nothing that runs counter to the reform policy", according to Boris Ivanov, head of administration of the Chita region, who appeared on local television today. "We will study and analyse all instructions from Moscow to work out a balanced attitude to them. We will not permit thoughtless fulfillment of any orders from above if they run contrary to the interests of the state or are to the detriment of the people", he added.

Birobidzhan—The leader of the regional arm of the Democratic Party of Russia in the Jewish autonomous region, Valentin Kozlov- Birskiy criticised the decision of the Russian president to introduce special rule in Russia. He told ITAR-TASS that this decision "can lead to catastrophe, even civil war". Kozlov-Birskiy said the Congress of People's Deputies has outlived itself, the leader of the regional party organisation charged that the present president of Russia "is unable to extricate the country from the political and economic crisis."

Oblast Officials Divided

OW2203135593 Magadan Radio Magadan in Russian 0800 GMT 22 Mar 93

[From the "Oblast News"]

[Text] A regularly scheduled news conference was held at the oblast administration. Viktor Mikhaylov, head of oblast administration, and Gennadiy Dorofeyev, mayor of Magadan city, expressed their views on the events of the 20 and 21 March, namely the president's address to the people and the subsequent session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. While the head of the oblast administration said that he had to obey the president's edicts, the mayor of Magadan city told the journalists that in the event the president's edict introducing special rule to overcome the power crisis was released, he had no intention of carrying it out and would resign.

Khabarovsk Kray Administration Head Support

OW2203135393 Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk Network in Russian 0930 GMT 22 Mar 93

[From the "Kray News"]

[Text] Viktor Ivanovich Ishayev, the head of Khabarovsk Kray administration, held a news conference for journalists of the kray and central mass media today. He said his position remained unchanged since the beginning of constitutional crisis at the seventh congress. The president, as the highest official of the state, had the right to turn to the people for support. He said Yeltsin's latest move was a brave and unconventional one in the circumstances. He also remarked that no one in the kray had yet seen the president's legal document or decrees.

Sverdlovsk Regional Council Support

OW2203142793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1406 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of Sverdlovsk Regional Council, Anatoliy Grebenkin, told INTERFAX that he personally approved of the move taken by the Russian president. "The president has found a good way out," he said.

Mr Grebenkin, however, abstained from commenting on the decrees President Yeltsin signed on March 20, averring that he "did not have the talents of Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin to pronounce unconstitutional the decrees which no one has seen." The relations between the executive and representative branches of power in the region, he said, remained the same with a sensible measure of criticism. Regional authorities have now initiated preparations for the plebiscite.

The chairman of the Sverdlovsk Regional Council made a negative assessment of the Appeal to the Citizens of Russia by the presidium of the RF [Russian Federation] Supreme Soviet which, in his words, "is just marring" the Russian president.

Nanai Regional Leader

LD2103055893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] In the opinion of (Aleksandr Kurochkin), head of administration of the Nanai national region, the president made the right decision under the circumstances. It is all very well to talk, but you have to work, you have to lead the economy out of the crisis, Kurochkin told an RIA correspondent.

Vladivostok City Council Chairman

LD2103114693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has used his legal right to address the people on who should decide what path the country should take in future. Sergey Solovyov, chairman of Vladivostok City Council, said this in an interview to an RIA correspondent. According to Solovyov, none of the president's proposals encroaches upon the rights either of the Supreme Soviet, the Congress, or the citizens of Russia. He drew special attention to the fact that the president, who is the supreme commander-in-chief, did not resort for help to the so-called power ministries, but addressed the people. This is yet further evidence that Boris Yeltsin wants to resolve the power crisis peacefully, the chairman of the Vladivostok City Council said.

Tatarstan Congress

OW2103144993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1417 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Saturday [20 March], the third congress of the All-Tatar Public Center (ATPC) demanded that the Tatar deputies be recalled from the Russian parliament because "they have slurred their reputation by acting against the interests of Tatarstan and its people" and because "their work in the Russian parliament undermines Tatarstan's sovereignty".

The congress also adopted the resolution on Tatarstan's foreign policy which says that the Tatar authorities should immediately draft a concept of Tatarstan's foreign policy. Besides that, it urged the president and parliament of Tatarstan to establish Tatarstan's foreign ministry that would pursue an independent foreign policy and abolish the ministry of foreign economic relations as a body operating to the detriment of Tatarstan's sovereignty.

The All-Tatar Public Center also suggested that Tatarstan's government set up a body in charge of military problems, stop supplying soldiers to the Russian army and recall servicemen, drafted in Tatarstan from the Russian armed forces.

The All-Tatar Public Center campaigns for Tatarstan's complete independence and full-fledged integration with the world community. In view of the CIS's "inviability and Russia's imperial ambitions", it proposed that a Eurasian congress be convened for seeking forms of cooperation, based on the principles of voluntariness and equality.

The congress passed the resolutions on the defence of the civil, social and economic rights of the refugees and forced migrants, and on the abolition of Tatarstan's KGB.

Support From Sverdlovsk Region

OW2203112793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1108 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leadership of the Sverdlovsk region has announced its support for the appeal to the country's citizens by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, in which he proposed measures to surmount the political crisis by peaceful means. Head of the regional administration Eduard Rossel, chairman of the Sverdlovsk regional council Anatoliy Grebenkin, and the president's representative in the Sverdlovsk region, Vitaly Mashkov, believe that "the President has accomplished a courageous deed, having addressed the people at this crucial moment." The officials mentioned the president-proposed nation wide plebiscite scheduled for April 25 at which the people should resolve the issue of confidence in the President.

The leaders of the region believe that Boris Yeltsin has the right to address the people with his proposals concerning elections to a federal two-chamber parliament and to determine the public attitude to the principles of the constitutional system.

In their interview with INTERFAX, the regional leaders also reported that they addressed the population asking "to abstain from meetings and demonstrations and to

focus their efforts on ensuring stable work at industrial enterprises, public transportation, in the social sphere, and in preparations for the sowing campaign."

Novosibirsk Oblast Criticism

LD2203030093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] The Novosibirsk Oblast Small Soviet [Malyy Sovet] met late on the evening of 21 March. It made a decision concerning the president's message to the citizens of Russia. Our correspondent Tamara Vintsemirova reports by telephone.

[Vintsemirova] The Small Soviet decided to hold an emergency session of the oblast soviet on Tuesday, 23 March, with the following agenda: The president's message to the citizens of Russia, and the president's decision to dismiss Vitaliy Mukhi, the head of the oblast administration.

The Small Soviet noted that the president has violated the law by signing decrees declaring a special regime of government and dismissing Vitaliy Mukhi as head of the oblast administration. The Small Soviet demanded that the representative and executive powers of all levels take measures to defend constitutional rule. The oblast Small Soviet intends to send its decision to the subjects of the Russian Federation that are members of the interregional Siberian Agreement association.

The deputies call on the inhabitants of Novosibirsk Oblast to keep calm and take a balanced attitude to what is happening. A similar appeal to the people of Novosibirsk was made on local television by oblast soviet chairman Anatoliy Sychov. A direct television broadcast was also made by Anatoliy Malokhin, the president's representative in Novosibirsk Oblast, and Russian People's Deputy Boris Konovalov; they expressed full support for the president's actions. A similar decision to support the vice president was made at a meeting of representatives of the Novosibirsk branch of Democratic Russia.

Khakassiya Republic Criticism

LD2203043693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0330 GMT 22 Mar 93

[From the "Utro" program]

[Text] The leadership of the Republic of Khakassiya has instructed local bodies of power to take guidance exclusively from provisions of the Constitution and decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies.

The majority of those addressing the Supreme Soviet session in the Republic of Tuva spoke of the televised address of President Yeltsin in extremely negative terms.

Ivanovo Officials Critical

LD2203044893

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 0400 GMT on 22 March carries a two-minute telephone report by correspondent Oleg Valykin from Ivanovo, where it has been a working Sunday for "representatives at all levels." Oblast soviet chairman Vladislav Tikhomirov, who is also a Russian people's deputy, tells Valykin that he agreed with Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin. "No collective discussions of the president's statement are planned in the oblast soviet today," Tikhomirov says. "No measures have been taken, apart from strengthening the guard on certain sites." Tikhomirov adds that he fears the break up of the Russian Federation.

Yevgeniy Piskarev, Tikhomirov's deputy, says Yeltsin's statement was "the beginning of an anticonstitutional coup." Adolf Laptev, head of the oblast administration, said he would adhere to the Constitution. Viktor Zelenkin, chairman of the Ivanovo city soviet, supports Yeltsin, but fears that not all the heads of administration are on the president's side. Two-thirds of the townspeople watched the Yeltsin broadcast or know about it from the media; 69 percent of those familiar with it approve.

Pro-, Anti-Yeltsin Demonstations Held in Moscow

Rallies Described

LD2203103193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] [Announcer Ruvinskiy] As I promised our listeners, our correspondent Kirill Shakhnovich is on the line. He is in the center of Moscow. Please go ahead.

[Shakhnovich] Good day. Two rallies are taking place simultaneously in the center of Moscow, one near the building of the White House, where supporters of the National Salvation Front are gathered. A distinctive feature of this rally is that a strong force of the National Salvation Front has come out on the balconies of the White House—there are some 4,000 people there. The second rally, of Democratic Russia and supporters of President Yeltsin is taking place on Sovetskaya Ploshchad. Approximately the same number of people has assembled there. The age of the participants is also basically identical, with some 50 percent being elderly people. Nevertheless, there are more young people on Sovetskaya Ploshchad.

The point is that four days ago a rally took place of the Front's supporters and of the supporters of the USSR. This was a rally in defense of the Soviet Union. A distinctive feature of this rally was Umalatova's phrase: We are united by hatred. The participants in today's rally of the Democratic Russia people and supporters of the president are calmer, and I have not come across any particularly radical slogans. The only slogan which is

close to this is "SCSE '93—Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, Zorkin, Ryabov." In the view of the demonstrators, and according the latest news—the rally only started recently—this morning these four comrades—Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, Zorkin and Ryabov —gathered this morning and made the decision of a three-option, I quote, enthronement of Rutskoy, as allegedly the centrist who will help remove Yeltsin from the post of president.

The demonstrators are in a very decisive mood and intend to go to the White House by 1500, when a large rally will held there. There, near the White House, the militia is putting up barriers to avoid clashes between the two opposed sides: National Salvation Front members and the president's supporters. I will be reporting on that later.

[Ruvinskiy] I remind you that our correspondent is inside the White House, and we will be receiving news from there.

Demonstrators Join 'Irregular Force'

LD2103133593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent V. Budnikov]

[Text] Communists and nationalist patriots are continuing their rally outside the White House. They are calling for all power to be handed over to the soviets, and they want deputies to adopt a decision on the president's impeachment. According to rumors, such a decision will be read out at approximately 1600 [1300 GMT] today. The number of participants in the rally is relatively small, but they are in very aggressive mood, particularly with Russian television.

The most active of the communists and patriots are enrolling with an irregular force [opolcheniye], with platoons and companies of this force being set up by soldiers from the Officers' Union, allegedly to guard deputies and maintain order. The organizers of the irregular force do not rule out the possibility of clashes with the democrats who are gathered in Pushkin Square. [Video shows about 200 demonstrators standing outside White House; red flags, banner reading "Yeltsin, you drunk pig, get out of the Kremlin"; a group of servicemen attending the rally; a World War II conscription placard reading "The Motherland Calls," a picture of Lenin]

U.S. TV Crew Attacked

LD2103185393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Mar 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] At the Supreme Soviet building, a group of procommunist protesters attacked an American television film crew, in order to hamper their filming. Attempts were also made to prevent our correspondents from doing their job. As to what they had to hear at White House walls, such things cannot even be repeated among friends, let alone on the air.

Lukyanov, Others Speak

OW2103183193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During the continuing demonstration by the opposition on Sunday outside the building of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, speeches were given by deputy Sergey Baburin, former Soviet deputy Sazhi Umalatova and former chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Sergey Baburin, appealing to the participants of the meeting, which according to unofficial reports totals a few thousand people, stated that "Boris Yeltsin's adventure, after deciding to commit a coup d'etat, will not work. This will be proven by the people, true democrats, who convene before the Supreme Soviet and by the people's deputies themselves." In Baburin's words, telegrams in support of Russian unity and condemning "the treachery of Boris Yeltsin and his stooges" have come in from Orel, Omsk, Novosibirsk, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Tomsk and other cities. Baburin also proposed "to refresh our memories of the 64th article of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR on punishing treason." Former head of the Soviet parliament, Anatoliy Lukyanov, stated that today "it is still early to speak of victory, today is a day for insight." Not far off, outside the building of the Moscow mayor's office on Novy Arbat, a demonstration of supporters of the president is going on. As opposed to the demonstration by the opposition, held under red flags, this demonstration is being held under Russia's tricolor.

Both demonstrations, Interfax correspondents report, are divided by two cordons of police and about 50 meters of neutral territory.

Buses filled with police, interior ministry troops, OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] forces (special forces), ambulances and fire engines are nearby.

Support for Yeltsin's Appeal Reported

PEF Calls For Rutskoy Resignation

OW2203142493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1406 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The statement of the PEF Political Council (Party of Economic Freedom) distributed on March 22 in Moscow, indicates that the actions of Russian President Boris Yeltsin do not violate the basic principles of the constitutional system and correspond to its legal norms. In his address to the citizens of Russia on March 20, the President used his legal right to address the people who had elected him; Yeltsin proposed to end the political

crisis by peaceful means without encroaching on the rights and authorities of others branches of power.

The Russian Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Constitutional Court, the statement continues, are striving to present the President, who was elected by the Russian people, as an initiator of anti-constitutional actions and to push the situation to its limit..

To this effect, the leadership of the Party of Economic Freedom points out that the situation until April 25 will be determined by how the president's decree is actually implemented. The representatives of the party express their hope that despite possible instigations and inevitable confrontation, the President will firmly adhere to legal and constitutional norms.

The statement of the PEF Political Council cites that the Vice President should resign under the present situation, when the Vice President's position sharply contradicts the position of the President.

Democratic Wing Supports Yeltsin

LD2103182993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1300 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 21 March—The democratic wing of the Russian Federation Parliament supports President Boris Yeltsin, Mikhail Molostvov, member of the Supreme Soviet said today. In an interview to an ITAR-TASS correspondent, he stressed that "the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies, basing itself on the contradictory nature of the Constitution, used it as a framework to carry out a coup d'etat, as a result of which Boris Yeltsin, as president of the Russian Federation, was driven into a corner." In the opinion of the deputy, Boris Yeltsin "is simply defending the post of president of Russia, which we instituted and to which he was elected by a nationwide vote."

"It was the congress that embarked on the road to usurpation of power and a coup," People's Deputy Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev believes. "The reaction of the president could not be anything else," he told journalists. "It is obvious that the head of state cannot agree to those limitations on his presidential activity that have been imposed on him."

Democratic Forces Support Yeltsin

LD2203132093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Mar 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The headquarters of Democratic Forces of Russia, which is now called the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations, held a regular conference in the Moscow mayor's office today. Fully supporting the president's statement, it discussed holding mass actions as an emergency measure and began discussing a draft statement on Yeltsin's Saturday address and an address to the president himself.

As for the plan for mass actions, it was decided not to waste time on numerous small rallies, but to concentrate on one rally on Sunday 28 March, which is to end by processing from Mayakovskiy Square to St. Basil's Cathedral. All resources will be concentrated on preparing for this rally. It was pointed out that this rally will definitely be held unless a new Congress begins its work before that date. In that case, so-called "reserve options" have been worked out.

In addition, the conference proposed a resolution on no confidence in the Constitutional Court, whose chairman, according to the participants in the conference, has exceeded his authority and openly sided with one of the conflicting parties, thereby considerably damaging the reputation of the Constitutional Court.

Former Moscow Mayor Comments

OW2103183093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Former Mayor of Moscow Gavril Popov has called Yeltsin's speech timely, and the decisions he made mature. In the opinion of Popov, who is now co-chairman of the Russian movement for democratic reform, the president's actions "are entirely in accordance with the primary principles of the constitutional system in Russia." Popov called Yeltsin's proposal for a plebiscite April 25 and the ensuing early elections to parliament "the wise way to get out of the constitutional crisis."

Democratic Organizations Hold Meeting

LD2103102493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1022 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Belskiy and Yuriy Vdovin]

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—An impromptu meeting in support of the presidential authority in Russia was held in downtown Moscow on Sunday morning. It was organised by the Democratic Choice Association, the Human Chain, the August-91 and the Democratic Russia movements.

According to data of the Militia Headquarters, about 2,500 people gather on Sovetskaya Square outside the Moscow City Council building.

Speakers at the meeting declared against the "usurpation of power by the Congress of People's Deputies who rely on the Brezhnevite Constitution" and demanded that "the president restore order in the country."

Those present supported the idea of holding a referendum which had been scheduled by the president for April 25.

Meeting organisers announced that they intended to arrange a rally outside the Russian White House at 15.00 on Sunday, one hour prior to the beginning of a special session of the Russian Parliament.

Independent Miners Union Sides With Yeltsin

OW2203113293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1109 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Independent Trade Union of Miners of Russia Aleksandr Sergeyev told Interfax on Monday [22 March] that the union unequivocally supported the President's determination to hold an all-Russia referendum and stabilize the situation in the country. He revealed that a session of the union's council had opened "in a town near Moscow" on March 22 with regional representatives taking part. The meeting plans to discuss the situation in Russia and work out a common platform. Mr. Sergeyev said that tentatively on Tuesday, union representatives would come up with a joint appeal to the leadership and citizens of Russia.

Meanwhile, according to reports from the Kuznetsk coal-mining region, members of the union's regional branch have organized round-the-clock vigils at the pits. In the words of the leader of the Kuznetsk working committees council Aleksandr Korotkikh, an enlarged session of the committees council and of the independent union will be held in Kemerovo on Tuesday to check how the RF [Russian Federation] Parliament has been meeting the miners demands, including the revision of the mechanism of subsidies to the coal-mining industry, its financing and crediting, and the adoption of social security legislation.

"We'll wait until March 25" - Korotkikh told Interfax. If by that date, the Supreme Soviet fails to submit a time-table for the examination of the miners demands, a strike will be declared on April 1, he stressed.

Mr. Korotkikh also said that the miners intended to respond to the decisions of Monday's session of the Kemerovo regional council. He reported that in his radio address on Monday, the council's chairman Amangeldiy Tuleyev urged deputies of all levels to resist the RF President's decisions, outlined in his message to the citizens of Russia on March 20. In the words of a representative of the working committees council, Tuleyev described Yeltsin's actions as a coup.

Vorkuta Union of Miners Backs Yeltsin

LD2203004893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Mar 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondent has reported that the Independent Trade Union of Miners in Vorkuta today began round-the-clock duty in their offices and at the mines. This step was prompted by the presidential address and by the Supreme Soviet session. Representatives of labor collectives are to elaborate their political position at a session that is due to begin in Vorkuta tomorrow. Nikita Shulga, chairman of Vorkuta's Independent Trade Union of Miners, said in a telephone conversation that the Russian leadership of the Independent Union of Miners entirely supports Boris Yeltsin and will do everything possible to defend him.

Union Threatens Strike Over Impeachment

OW2203113193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1109 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [22 March], Vorkuta City Workers' Committee (VCWC) adopted the Appeal To the Citizens of Russia with an expression of support to President Boris Yeltsin and his reforms. "Yes to the President and to reforms. No to the Supreme Soviet and Congress," the appeal reads.

Georgiy Kudrov, member of Vorkuta City Workers' Committee declared that the workers' committee will resort to an infinite political strike. On Monday, Vorkuta mines will stage meetings and opinion polls in order to ascertain each miner's attitude toward the strike. According to the preliminary assessments by the VCWC, nearly 80% of the miners support President Yeltsin and approve his appeal to the people.

Representatives of the Independent Trade Union of Vorkuta Coal Miners have also expressed their support to the Russian president.

Parties, Other Groups Criticize Yeltsin Announcement

Party Representatives Comment

OW2103183893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One of the leaders of the Russian Unity opposition bloc of parliamentary factions, Viktor Aksyuchits, has stated that "the most criminal thing now would be to go for some sort of compromise with the president." He announced this position at a bloc meeting on Sunday. In Aksyuchits' opinion, a compromise with those who "perpetrated a coup d'etat" is impossible.

Mikhail Chelnokov (Civic Union fraction) proposed considering today's session of the Supreme Soviet as preparation for an emergency Congress of People's Deputies. He proposed considering three questions at the congress: - on throwing out all those deputies from parliament and congress who work on the president's

and government's staffs or in the diplomatic corps; - on the president's anti-constitutional actions; - on the mass media.

Ivan Rybkin (Communists of Russia) stated that presently, a "zero sum" solution would be most suitable, in accordance with which Boris Yeltsin should resign, since in Rybkin's opinion, "he has lost all guidelines."

Civic Union Leader Regrets Events

LD2103131393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Commenting on the address to the people by the president of Russia, Vasiliy Lipitskiy, one of the leaders of the Civic Union, expressed regret over the turn that events have taken. The Civic Union has done everything it could to persuade the president and those around him not to take unconstitutional actions, he said in an interview with INTERFAX. Vasiliy Lipitskiy also reported that the members of the Political Consultative Council of the Civic Union are studying the situation and will make a collective statement today before the emergency session of the Supreme Soviet. Vasiliy Lipitskiy stressed that the Civic Union adheres to the principles of lawfulness and observance of the Constitution.

Civic Union Opposes Decree

LD2103135693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1351 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—The Executive Council of the Centrist Civic Union held an emergency session in Moscow on Sunday to discuss its tactics following President Boris Yeltsin's decision to impose "special rule" in Russia.

Vasiliy Lipitskiy, one of the leaders of the Civic Union, said the union opposed Yeltsin's move and denounced the position of "extremist communist forces" which are trying to impose their views on the parliament.

Lipitskiy said the Union would urge an immediate examination of the presidential decree imposing "special rule" in the country by the Russian Constitutional Court to determine its legality.

The Civic Union comprises several Russian parties and pro-democratic movements, including the Free Russia Popular Party, the Democratic Party of Russia, the Union Renovation and others.

Civic Union Supports Rutskoy

OW2103143193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1414 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A source from among the leaders of the influential Civic Union, wishing to remain anonymous, informed Interfax that among deputies in the Supreme Soviet "more and more the inclination is growing to name [Vice President] Aleksandr Rutskoy acting president." In addition to this, the source did not rule out that the congress could approve an amendment to the Constitution which would empower Rutskoy to work as acting president not for only three months, but right up until new elections are held.

"Yeltsin and his team's main mistake was relying on the support" of the vice president when acting unconstitutionally.

"This mistake could be fatal," said the Civic Union representative.

Democratic Party Wants Election

OW2103181693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1726 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Yeltsin's address to the nation on March 20 to invoke special administration "has given rise to a new rather dangerous spiral in the crisis of power in Russia." This is said in a statement released by the secretariat of the Democratic Party in Moscow on Sunday [21 March]. Along with a number of other political organizations this party belongs to the centric Civic Union.

Appreciating the President's desire to address the question of trust to the nation, the party leadership at the same time voiced puzzlement "why this message should entail the introduction of special administration in Russia." These Presidential actions tend to "undermine the constitutional system, turn the confrontation between the branches of power into an open war, and set the mechanism of national disintegration into motion." The Democratic Party, the statement notes, favours direct Presidential and Parliamentary elections to be held without delay, the earliest possible restoration of the constitutional system and the freedom of mass media, and scrupulous compliance with civil rights and freedoms. If force is attempted for anti-constitutional ends, the party "will be as resolute as it was on August 19 1991.

Meanwhile On Sunday, the republican party's coordinating council backed up the President's decision to impose special administration. Its resolution stresses that the 8 Congress of People's Deputies breached the constitution by barring the people from expressing their will at a referendum. The unconstitutional decisions of the Congress with " the Constitutional Court's virtually tacit approval" compelled the President to retaliate by an unconstitutional step. For this reason, the coordinating council supports the President's actions to lead

the country out of the political and economic crisis and believes that his decision "rests on the fundamentals of democracy."

'Russian Unity' Says Constitution Breached

OW2103112693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1022 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One of the leaders of the opposition bloc Russian Unity, Sergey Baburin, has stated that there was no need to raise the question of impeaching the president, "since an impeachment has virtually already taken place."

He was referring to article 121 of the Constitution which stipulates, in his words, the order for the automatic cessation of the powers of the president if he acts against the constitution.

'Russian Unity' Member Condemns Decree

OW2103111793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1021 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the National Salvation Front, which belongs to the opposition bloc Russian Unity, and people's deputy Ilya Konstantinov, stated that deputies in the bloc are currently getting in contact with regional councils in order to inform them of their position and explain their relation to Yeltsin's appeal.

"Russian Unity," Konstantinov said, "severely condemns the president's unconstitutional and illegal actions."

He further reported that the press conference by the Russian Unity bloc initially planned for 1:00 a.m. March 21 did not take place, since deputies were busy getting in touch with their constituents.

In addition to this, the leader of the Christian Democratic party, Viktor Aksyuchits, stated that in his opinion, the president "should either go all the way, including the use of force, or acknowledge that he did not only err, but committed a crime."

Republican Party Opposes Yeltsin Move

OW2103113293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1012 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vladimir Lysenko, a co-chairman of the Republican party of Russia, believes that "the path of cavalry attacks" to which people close to the President move the Russian President is advantageous only to his adversaries. The unconstitutional actions of the President threaten not only to Yeltsin himself but to the post of a president which is a guarantor of reforms in Russia, Lysenko declared at a Coordination council of the Republican party on Saturday [20 March]. According to Lysenko, reforms in their radical version cannot be implemented under the present situation as only one third of the population supports reforms and one can speak about the crisis of the democratic power. Inevitable slowing down of the reforms pace will be the price for the expanding of social base of the reforms. Lysenko spoke in favor of new people of centrist orientation to be included into the composition of the government.

About 70 delegates from 43 Russian regions are participating in the work of the Coordination council; they represent 7000 members of the Republican party of Russia. The participants of the session are to determine the party's position with respect to the present political situation within two days.

The draft resolution on this issue cites that the 8th Congress of the People's Deputies has not introduced any changes in the disposition of the political forces. The President and government still hold the real power in their hands. The Council believes that nothing tragic has happened and nothing forces the President to undertake extraordinary measures. Any attempts to liquidate one of the existing institutes of power (the presidential post, congress, and Supreme Soviet) can become the cause of uncontrollable forms of political struggle and of stoppage of economic and political reforms.

Communists Want Decree Drafters Prosecuted

OW2103181793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1727 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Parliamentary faction "Communists of Russia" has asked the Supreme Soviet to dismiss the RF [Russian Federation] President's address to the nation on March 20 as "inconsistent with his status of top official and head of executive power in RF." A draft made public at the emergency session of the Supreme Soviet on Sunday also requests checking the legitimacy of the President's latest actions and decisions in the Constitutional Court.

It proposes that the attorney-general "lOok into the question of holding all officials, involved in drafting the Presidential address, responsible for preparing a coup.

Speaking in the debates, one of the faction leaders Gennadiy Sayenko said that "the chief ideologist" of the latest events," bearing Boris Yeltsin in mind, should be held criminally responsible, too.

The draft notes that the President's message "clearly indicates that his goal was to actually suspend work in the Congress of People's Deputies, in the Supreme Soviet, in the Constitutional Court, and in the soviets of people's deputies of all levels." The Communists of Russia faction regards Mr. Yeltsin's address as an "open encroachment on the constitutional pillars of Russian state and as a coup attempt in the country."

FRPP Condemns Yeltsin's Decree

OW2103183793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leadership of the Free Russia People's Party (FRPP) condemns the president's decree on the imposition of "special administration regime." In its statement the FRPP describes the decree as "an attempt to resolve by force the problems that emerged as a result of a failed economic policy." At the same time the FRPP calls for maintaining calm and for acting strictly in accordance with the law.

The party's leadership urged all political forces in the country to refrain from taking actions fraught with violence or aimed at inciting passions.

Paliamentary Factions Denounce 'Special Rule'

LD2103201693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1818 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow March 21 ITAR-TASS—The debates, which followed the speeches of the Russian Parliament chairman, the vice president of Russia, the prime minister, the Constitutional Court chairman, the power ministers and the procurator-general, was clearly not in Yeltsin's favour. Most of the leaders of factions denounced Boris Yeltsin's intention to impose "special rule".

"What does the president count on if he is not supported either by his vice president, or the Security Council secretary, or power ministers?" Chairman of the Council of Parliament Factions Vladimir Novikov queried. He spoke on behalf of the Free Russia faction, which proposed appealing to the constitutional court for ruling on Boris Yeltsin's political statements made of late.

According to members of the Russian Unity faction, the president's action was tantamount to a coup d'etat. This view was voiced by Gennadiy Sayenko who called on the parliament to "announce the termination of Boris Yeltsin's presidential powers as of March 21" and to convene the Congress of People's Deputies on March 24 to consider the situation in the country. The opposition also called for instituting criminal proceedings against the officials who supported the coup d'etat.

One of the leaders of the faction "sovereignty and equality", Umar Temirov, rejected the president's accusations levelled at the Deputies' Corps and noted that disputes should be settled within the framework of the constitution. Temirov, who represents Karachayevo-Cherkessk in the parliament, said the introduction of rule-by-decree in the country called into question the unity of the federation".

Member of the parliament presidium Sergey Krasavchenko urged the deputies to scrutinise the situation, including Boris Yeltsin's proposals, and find a civilised way out of the crisis. He insisted that there is ground for accord.

Nikolay Travkin accused the president and those closest to him of "thirsting for power".

The faction "Change-New Policy" said it believed that Boris Yeltsin once again "fell victim to irresponsible political personalities". According to the faction coordinator, Igor Muravyov.

Vladimir Isakov charged that Yeltsin failed to live up to the unprecedented confidence the people had in him. "It is quite obvious that the president took up an irreconcilable stand and defied the constitution", Vladimir Isakov said. "To give in in this situation means to violate our constitutional duty," he insisted.

Sergey Stepashin, who spoke on behalf of the parliament's Defence and Security Committee noted that the crisis of power engendered a threat to the national security of the Russian Federation. The weakening of the vertical state power leads to the weakening of regions and also to further "politicisation of the economy". He spoke against convening the congress before the Constitutional Court announces its decision. Sergey Stepashin said it was possible to hold a plebescite on confidence in the president, in accordance with Yeltsin's wishes. "We cannot deprive the president of the constitutional right to appeal to the people," he stressed.

The parliament adopted a resolution and an appeal to the governments, parliaments and nations.

Miners Union on 'Due Consideration'

LD2103132093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1120 GMT 21 Mar 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The INTERFAX agency has reported that the independent trade union of Russian miners does not intend to support the president without due consideration. I quote: Appealing to the people is not the same thing as being able to rely on the people, Sergeyev, the chairman of this trade union, said.

Independent Trade Unions Issue Statement

LD2203164993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] The executive committee of the Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia and heads of Russian branch trade unions have issued a statement in connection with the Russian president's 20 March appeal. We believe it is necessary simultaneously to hold new elections of the president and people's deputies in the very near future in order to strengthen

and develop democracy, the statement says. The preparation of a law on elections and their holding should be entrusted to the Russian parliament together with the country's main public forces and trade unions.

The statement underlines that the way out of crisis is possible only on the basis of a firm observance of the existing Constitution and the coordination of all power bodies.

Yeltsin Plans Public Appearance 1600 GMT 22 Mar

LD2203045493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0428 GMT 22 Mar 93

[From the "Utro" program]

[Text] According to an RIA report that we received yesterday evening, President Yeltsin is expected to meet the Russian public at 1900 tonight [1600 GMT] in the Oktyabr film and concert hall [in Moscow near Red Square].

'Unlikely' To Meet Public

LD2203052793 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0500 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] The RIA news agency has reported that a meeting of Boris Yeltsin with representatives of the Russian public is planned at 1900 [1600 GMT] at the Oktyabr concert hall. But it is unlikely to take place since, according to the "Itogi" and "Vesti" news programs, the mother of the president of Russia has died at the age of 84.

FIC Discloses Yeltsin Plans

OW2203141193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During his meeting with journalists on March 22, the leader of the Federal Information Center (FIC) Mikhail Poltoranin reported that Russian President Boris Yeltsin is getting ready to speak at a rally by Moscow's democratic public. In Poltoranin's words, after the meeting, the President intends to leave for Yekaterinburg to attend his mother's funeral.

According to a spokesman for the Presidential administration, however, President Yeltsin will not take part in the democratic rally, planned at the "Octyabr" cinema-concert hall at 19:00 [1600 GMT].

Igor Kharichev said that first vice-premier Vladimir Shumeyko and the President's chief of staff, Sergey Filatov, would be at the meeting.

Moscow Said 'Surprisingly' Calm 21 Mar

LD2203145893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0903 GMT 22 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 22 March—Surprisingly last night in the capital passed off calmly—this is the view of many of the services asked this morning by an ITAR-TASS correspondent. It is unlikely that here there will never be any night fires in flats, cellars and storerooms, road and transport accidents, burglaries and hooliganism on the streets. All these things happened last night. However many of the city's services noted that incidents were no more numerous than the usual level, and in certain cases there was a marked decrease. [passage omitted]

Eighth Congress of People's Deputies

Filatov Comments on Yeltsin, Congress Conflict

PM2203125193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration, by Valeriy Kucher, chief editor of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI; place, date not given: "The Monopolization of Power Is Ruinous for Russia"]

[Text] [Kucher] Sergey Aleksandrovich! Quite recently we have seen you in the presidiums of Congresses of People's Deputies and watched you during the work of Supreme Soviet sessions. Let me say frankly that it never even occurred to me to call you the autocratic "leader of the Supreme Soviet," as those people's deputies filling posts in the superstructure of the legislative organ of power are so inclined to. The quite permissible definition of the role and place of a dignitary of the party-soviet type in the hierarchy of the top officials of the Supreme Soviet of former USSR (as persona non grata) is unnatural in a republic which has proclaimed the principle of the separation of powers. In that connection it is not entirely clear on whose behalf, in your opinion, the "leaders" of the Supreme Soviet are acting with such frenzy.

[Filatov] I think that you are not the only one who does not understand whose interests are reflected by the leaders of the Supreme Soviet: Many other people and society as a whole can hardly understand it either. It is not a question of individuals here, although much could be said about that. The stage we have reached today cannot be directly linked with the actions of any political figure. Objective processes are under way and determine what is happening in our state. The Russian parliament is a carbon copy of the former Union deputy structure, and it is that which determines what officials do. After all, only a blind man can fail to see that the structure of the present Supreme Soviet is incorrectly formed. Therein lies one of the causes of destabilization. It is necessary to work toward eliminating the administrative part of the Supreme Soviet and make it bicameral and at

the same time abandon the Congress. Then the impression will not be created that the leaders are acting in the name of all people's deputies. The Supreme Soviet chairman merely "exercises general leadership and prepares questions which are due to be examined." The constitution does not envisage general leadership of Congresses and the Supreme Soviet, and therefore it is necessary to scrap the top bureaucratic tier. Especially since the Supreme Soviet leaders often discredit and humiliate deputies.

[Kucher] You have touched on the role of the individual in the present processes. It can be argued that Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov is playing his own game. What about his closing speech at the Congress and the fear that he incited! And take the aggressive and intransigent conduct of some local soviets toward the executive. What are the motives behind this? How is the ordinary citizen to understand all this?

[Filatov] These are difficult, even dramatic questions. However, I would stress over and over again that the dramatic nature of the situation lies not in the clash of personal ambitions, emotions, or the character traits of the people drawn into the conflict. It is rooted in different views of the essence of the reforms.

I believe that the essence of the conflict lies in the fact that the two branches of power have a different view of the opportunities for extricating the country from the crisis and each one believes that it alone has the right to do this and that it answers to the people. Thus many people's interests coincide under the guise of the reforms.

Why have we reached this situation and how? The nub of the contradictions lies in the choice of methodology of the economic reform. Since the Congress and the Supreme Soviet had no real program the executive took the initiative itself and the deputies consequently did not accept it. As a result there was total chaos all last year. Both the legislative and the executive tried to carry out their task insofar as they had access to organs capable of influencing the reform. In particular, the state bank and the extrabudgetary organizations were at the center of this debilitating struggle.

The result is lamentable: Credits for social needs and circulating capital were used in a far from rational way.

The same thing happened in the sphere of privatization. When one of the deputies asked Vladimir Shumeyko what the Supreme Soviet has stopped the government from doing, what law it has refused to adopt, and who has stopped the government from doing what it wanted, the deputy chairman was lost for words, probably because formally speaking there are no such documents. But there are other possible means of obstruction. And they were used: There are the constant negative assessments, real and imaginary, of the government's activity, the diversion of the government from the actual management of the economy, and the imposition of fruitless debates. This is also a method of struggle, and a very powerful one.

Now for the solution. I said long ago that the Congress cannot examine financial, taxation, and budget questions. This requires colossal study of all matters.

The Supreme Soviet proceeds from the assumption that the president and government must fulfill Congress decisions. Then the attack begins: Has this been done, why has that not been done? The president's edict on public education is indicative in this regard. The president believed that public education must be guaranteed a certain level of pay, but when the calculations were placed before him and it turned out that there were no resources to raise teachers' pay today, the attacks on the president only mounted.

It is not only the president who is actually working in this climate of suspicion and distrust but the government too.

And look at what the Congress of People's Deputies is doing, not without the help of certain forces (this cannot happen spontaneously), with the changes in the constitution after the first president of the Russian Federation was elected and after the principle of the separation of powers was proclaimed.

[Kucher] But the defenders of the hard line assert that the constitutional powers of the legislative organ were defined not by its present composition but were formulated even before the first president of the Russian Federation was elected by all the people.

[Filatov] That is true. But I want to ask my esteemed opponents: Why out of the 320 amendments to the constitution adopted since the election of the president has there not been a single one which takes into account the new realities and works toward the separation of powers?

A paradoxical situation is developing: The constitution is being tailored and reworked in just one direction—the powers of the Supreme Soviet are being strengthened. It is in this direction that the articles infringing on the powers of the president are being reworked.

The Seventh Congress, which adopted an amendment to Article 109, Paragraph 19, was especially "fruitful" in this regard. In accordance with this amendment the Supreme Soviet henceforth "is entitled to suspend edicts and directives of the president of the Russian Federation pending a ruling by the Russian Federation Constitutional Court on their constitutionality if the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet appeals to the Russian Federation Constitutional Court."

But for some reason the president is not vested with a similar right regarding Supreme Soviet legislation.

The existence of an article infringing the powers of the president may have very serious consequences.

As a result the power of the soviets is being strengthened and work is under way to remove the president from power. The point is not that a particular individual is being removed. The point is that what is being removed from power is a structure which guarantees that the executive can work on the basis of the law but is independent of the legislative organ. That is the entire point! And if we do not understand that, democracy simply cannot exist in our country.

The executive branch, which is under the Supreme Soviet, is defenseless. The president cannot help it. The deputies do not want to help because the deputies themselves are defenseless and to a large extent are dependent on the Supreme Soviet hierarchy. Consequently we may reach the stage where the state is facing catastrophe.

[Kucher] You have always said that the new constitution can wait. The recent attacks and amendments made to the constitution have made it so internally contradictory and inappropriate to the tasks that have been set and the deputies are now so set on increasing the monopoly of power that it is necessary to seek ways to adopt a new constitution. Is this search possible in the zone of the Supreme Soviet?

[Filatov] All the same the new constitution can wait a while. The new basic law must be adopted by some other organ (it does not matter what it is called), but this must be an independent organ which would fundamentally change the situation in the country without putting its own "imprint" on the new constitution [ne "podgrebaya" novuyu Konstitutsiyu pod sebya].

Now for the amendments made to the existing constitution.

There must be a radical change in the casual attitude to the very principle and mechanism of amending the constitution. There is no country in the world—not the United States, France, or any other country—where amendments are made to the constitution with the ease with which they are made here.

Any amendment relating to the basic law is like pregnancy and birth. There must be no forcing of natural processes or artificially acceleration of the emergence of new life into the world. Allusions to the fact that it is not a single person but a collective of specialists who take part in preparing amendments are not at all convincing.

[Kucher] This is all true. However, the danger of the monopolization of power by one branch—the legislature—has moved from the sphere of a theoretical possibility to that of practical realization...

[Filatov] A dangerous situation is developing in our state where the Supreme Soviet Chairman interferes in the activity of a president elected by all the people. You will see what results.

A totally new institution of executive power has emerged in the Russian Federation now, an institution unlike the old one, which for the first time has escaped from the diktat of a single party and is responsible to the people—in the form of the president. Before our very eyes a totally new judiciary is developing, a judiciary such as has never existed before in Russia, independent of the executive, and invested with the power to pass judgement on any official, including the president.

And it is only the legislature which is not only not undergoing change, it also refuses to hear of any changes at all in its own structure which developed back at the dawn of the Soviet state.

It should be noted that the idea of the sovereignty of the soviets, the idea of the exercise by the soviets of the legislative, executive, and control functions of state power which prevailed in the USSR throughout its existence, nevertheless had never been reduced by law to absurdity before.

All the USSR Constitutions and the RSFSR Constitution prior to 1990 included the demarcation of the powers of the legislative and the executive without even mentioning the principle of the separation of powers. No attempt was ever made to eliminate the executive branch of power as an autonomous entity. To all appearances, it was understood that such steps could lead to the disintegration of the state system (which is what we are seeing now). In the USSR and the RSFSR until recently the demarcation of the competence of the legislature and the executive was exclusively a constitutional matter. The competence of the executive in 1937 was enshrined directly in the constitution, which restricted the powers of the legislature.

Article 125 Part 1 of the 1978 RSFSR Constitution (the 1989 version) lays down that "the RSFSR Council of Ministers is empowered to resolve all questions of state management within the jurisdiction of the RSFSR insofar as, under the RSFSR Constitution, they do not come within the competence of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, or the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet."

On 24 May 1991 the Fourth Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies laid down that the executive's competence is no longer determined only by the constitution but also by laws (Articles 121-5, 125, and 130). The RSFSR Supreme Soviet thereby obtained the right independently to determine (or, more accurately, reduce) the executive branch's powers. The adverse consequences of this decision very quickly became apparent.

I will cite a few examples.

Under Article 125-5, Paragraph 3, of the constitution, it is the president who submits reports "On the Situation in the Russian Federation" to the Congress. But this is also to be done by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet under

Article 115, Paragraph 2. The maintenance of this contradiction in the constitution, and the fuzzy nature of the chairman's duties meant that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet is placed on a par with the president as the top state official.

Or take Article 121-6, which was likewise adopted at the Seventh Congress. I will remind you of the content of that article: "The powers of the president of the Russian Federation may not be used to change the national-state system of the Russian Federation, to dissolve any lawfully elected organs of state power, or to suspend their activity, otherwise those powers are terminated forthwith."

The high-handed, tactless attitude toward the president manifest in the article is obvious. I would note that there are no similar injunctions or proscriptions concerning the organs of legislative power in the constitution. But does not the very free and easy way the Supreme Soviet treats articles of the constitution not pose such a danger?

The Seventh Congress of People's Deputies refused to remove the description of the Congress as the supreme organ of state power from Article 104 of the constitution. That is, the concept of sole rule by the representative body entered into circulation. Then the deputies refused to exclude from Article 104 of the Russian Federation Constitution the right of the Congress to examine and resolve any question falling within the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation. That is, it conferred on itself the right to organize the implementation of its own laws and to exercise judicial functions.

But Article 109 of the Russian Federation Constitution retains the description of the Supreme Soviet as an administrative [rasporyaditelnyy] body. That is to say, the Congress effectively legalized the Supreme Soviet's practice in creating and leading the activity of numerous extrabudgetary funds and managing and administering federal property.

[Kucher] Have the supreme leaders of Congress embarked on a course of establishing the absolute power of parliament then?

[Filatov] I want to stress in particular that the idea of the sovereignty of parliament, so popular among people's deputies, is remote from the idea of parliamentarianism. Transforming the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet into the supreme state organ and vesting it with all-embracing control and certain administrative powers breaches the established system of checks and balances, which is in any case inadequate. The old slogan "All power to the soviets!" is not said aloud (I suspect that people don't even say it to themselves). The matter is worse—the slogan is firmly lodged in the subconscious of the majority of deputies (and not just because of the psychologically understandable and natural desire to broaden first and foremost your own scope and get rid of control and accountability). Equally significant is the fact that the old management scheme leading from the Communist Party down to the soviets is now being readied for reproduction. Look at the new rules, there you have the principle of democratic internationalism and rejection of factions—an army with special discipline ready to rule the country.

[Kucher] On becoming head of Boris Yeltsin's administration, you clearly designated the political priorities with your first steps. It is important that they be understood and accepted by others...

[Filatov] I believed and continue to believe in the force of reason and the need for proof and a system of arguments in favor of the rightness of your cause rather than believing in coercion steeped in fear.

The monopolization of power and the subordination of the two branches of power to the Supreme Soviet alone could destroy the democracy that is only just forming in our country.

The monopolization is pernicious to society first and foremost because, by restricting the prerogatives of president and parliament, it guarantees legislators' complete legal unaccountability to the people.

The monopolization of power is tantamount to the legislators themselves directly undermining the "unshakable foundations of the Russian Federation constitutional system: the power of the people and the separation of powers," as stated in Article 1, Paragraph 2, of the Russian Federation Constitution.

Aware of the situation prevailing in the Supreme Soviet (and also the disposition of forces at the Congress, I can confidently state that the slogan "All power to the soviets!" harbors serious destructive tendencies. Having deprived the executive branch of its autonomy (and, consequently, of its accountability) the power of the soviets could actually lead to the complete anarchy of the soviets themselves.

[Kucher] Sergey Aleksandrovich, we cannot avoid the topics of "the president" and "the Congress" in our discussion. The current situation is comparable to the closing stage of a complex game of chess. The black pieces, that is to say, the Congress, have made their final move, the indicator is descending and time is running out. The white pieces, that is to say, the president, have a move in hand, which could probably decide the outcome of the exhausting political struggle. The layout of the pieces is familiar to everyone. As a contingency against the president's move, the Congress has granted the Supreme Soviet the right to decide the fate of Andrey Kozyrev, Anatoliy Chubays... Society awaits the president's response. Ruslan Khasbulatov has elevated cunning and populism into an art form. Against this background, many people think that the president is unduly irresolute and they demand that he be uncompromising, while Boris Nikolayevich has strictly adhered to the logic of a search for compromises in the constitutional conflict. How would you assess all this?

[Filatov] What is happening clearly has to be seen in the light of the existing realities. Reforms altering society's immune system have been launched. They are under way. True, they are under way with defects and losses, but that was forecast. Boris Nikolayevich told people this honestly and openly at the start of the transformations. We have to acquire patience, all of us have to get through this difficult period. Many people lack that patience, some citizens give way to nerves. There are mistakes made along this new road.

In all likelihood, the danger that the defects of the reforms could be so openly and shamelessly exploited by the supporters of the old order, that revanchism would outweigh patriotism for them, and that, for the sake of attaining personal power, society could be openly called upon to polarize and split and, consequently, engage in "class" warfare was not fully taken into account.

How can this be countered? Should we step on the gas and increase the speed of the reforms? Efforts are necessary, of course, but when the exchequer is hard up, these measures can only be administrative, only be injunctions; but we have already gone through that.

The president can counter the slew of specious slogans and promises, the yen for a firm, strong hand, and the craving for social terrorism with a moral stance. And this stance is understood by the people. That is why Boris Nikolayevich's desire to turn for advice to those who elected him president is so natural and explicable. An appeal to the people is a paramount need. We see various approaches to domestic and foreign policy and different assessments of what is happening. How appropriate are the attitudes at the Congress to the processes taking place in society? I am sure that there is no match here. Deputies have lost contact with their voters and are losing their trust. But they continue to act and to demand changes on the people's behalf, while they themselves did not wish to give people the right to express their views on the most important state issues.

Unbridled speculation is going on. "Market-stall capitalism" today is less dangerous than political charlatanism. On the one hand, ordinary deputies are being intimidated while fear among citizens that Russia might split up is simultaneously inflamed; on the other hand, laws limiting the powers of the president are being adopted on the sly. And no one is accountable for this.

You mentioned Minister Kozyrev and Deputy Chairman Chubays; but, you know, the constitution, in whose defense the Supreme Soviet elite so self-sacrificingly acts, does not give them the right to evaluate the activity of individual members of government. That is evidence of great disrespect for the basic law, barefaced populism, and fomenting of hysteria. The personal assessment of ministers is the prerogative of the head of the executive branch.

The president's victory at the Congress resides in the fact that he managed to wrest from direct subordination to the Supreme Soviet those structures which simply by their detachment from the government promoted chaos in the economy, namely, the Central Bank, the Pension Fund, the Property Fund, and the State Statistics Committee.

[Kucher] Regarding the whipping up of hysteria, attempts are being made to intimidate society with the revival of the state of emergency in the country, which is alleged to stem from the presidential structure. Can the powers with which the president was vested be described as special powers?

[Filatov] Judge for yourself. The country has launched reforms, but the legislative base is not ready for this. Processes are developing rapidly, but there are no laws. The president is precisely engaged in creating the normative base. He issues edicts, and they go to the Supreme Soviet for agreement. Can this be described as an extraordinary measure?

The dynamism in whose atmosphere the transformations are being accomplished demands special cadre arrangements. Modifications to the placement of professional managers are required all the time. That is the right of the president as head of the executive branch. He has the reform blueprint in his possession, and people are picked in accordance with it. But now the Supreme Soviet wants to shackle the president with coordination.

Or take, for example, the president's legislative initiative. Where are emergency measures to be found here? The fact that a number of his moves have displeased certain factions of deputies is another matter. And this is also understandable, as some people profess different views on the development of society. In other words, regulations governing the relations between the president and parliament are needed. No such regulations exist. Instead we have high-handedness and an attempt to encroach upon one branch of power by inflating the rights of the legislators regardless of the need to develop progressive processes in society.

That is not in Russia's interests.

[Kucher] What, then, will Boris Yeltsin's response to the Congress be, Sergey Aleksandrovich?

[Filatov] It will be a response that reflects the interests of the people of our country.

Media Official Discusses TV, Radio Subordination

LD2203122493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] The Eighth Congress, like the previous ones, yet again instructed the Supreme Soviet to straighten out the media situation. What will happen next? Our correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy put this question to Igor Vladimirovich Zbronzhko, chairman of the subcommittee for television and radio broadcasting.

[Ruvinskiy] In your opinion, how will the situation develop regarding the Congress's instruction to the Supreme Soviet that it consider subordinating radio, television, and news agencies to itself?

[Zbronzhko] I must say that, thank God, the Congress did not pass the draft resolution which was proposed to deputies—it was called On State Television and Radio Broadcasting. Both the speaker and the deputies had enough common sense not to adopt it and not to insist on its adoption.

In my view, the resolution itself is simply a frightening document which destroys the attainments of the reform which has taken place; thanks to the reform the law on the media came into being. As a matter of fact, the resolution contradicted both the law on the media and the Constitution of the Russian Federation, as well as common sense. It only added fuel to the fire, to the confrontation which evolved at that Congress.

Judge for yourself. The first point of the resolution said that Ostankino, the Federal Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, and the ITAR-TASS information agency, should be subordinated to the Supreme Soviet. What does this mean? Under which laws, on what basis, should they be subordinated to the Supreme Soviet? And, if this happens, how will the Supreme Soviet run these bodies, the media?

Finally, they also discussed setting up a state supervisory commission which would guarantee that the work regulations are observed by the state television and radio broadcasting and federal news services. This has been in the air for a long time. The Seventh Congress did not pass it. The last sessions of the Supreme Soviet did not pass it. The point is, the last session decided to set up a deputies' commission to investigate the situation which has evolved at the Ostankino Television and Radio Company.

Unfortunately, instead of fulfilling the functions assigned to it by the Supreme Soviet decision, this commission has arrogated to itself powers which exceed those given it by the Supreme Soviet. It intends not only to monitor the work of the Ostankino Television and Radio Company and the Russian Television but local companies, as well.

As far as I know—this became clear from a statement made by the commission members at their first meetings—it intends to write work regulations for the state television and radio companies. In other words, it is exceeding its authority in all this. However, the members of the commission are full of confidence that if the Supreme Soviet did not grant it these powers today, it will probably do so tomorrow. In point of fact, the powers of the commission will exceed those of the media committee; it will become a replacement and substitution for it, and will therefore become a censorship or administrative body, and this is something we are trying to avoid in every way possible.

[Ruvinskiy] Can this situation, perhaps, be subject to consideration by the Constitutional Court?

[Zbronzhko] Of course it can. But you would agree that for journalists it is now very difficult to work, knowing that there is a body above them which issues decrees and instructions, and which invites people and interrogates them. On the whole, this situation is not normal. Journalists should not work in such circumstances. Our committee has always proceeded from the assumption that there is a media law which declares the freedom of the media, at least, the freedom to receive and circulate information, and that journalists bear certain responsibility for what they are doing. It seems to me that one should operate in this framework and nothing more.

[Ruvinskiy] What are the prospects for adopting the law on television and radio broadcasting?

[Zbronzhko] As you know, the Supreme Soviet has not passed it. But we have made the decision to divide this law into two parts. One law will license television and radio broadcasting of the Russian Federation, and the other law will regulate state television and radio broadcasting proper. It will be written not only by our authors' group, which has been working on this law, but perhaps jointly with representatives of factions of the Supreme Soviet.

People's Party of Free Russia Assesses Congress

PM2203123393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 93 p 15

[Unattributed report under the "Events of the Day" rubric: "Stance of the Party of Free Russia"]

[Text] A People's Party of Free Russia Board meeting, which discussed the results of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies and determined its stance toward it, was held 15 March.

While noting both the positive result of the way the Congress clearly raised the question of the need for direct observance of the Constitution as well as the significant extension by the Congress of the government's powers to conduct an independent policy, the party board at the same time states that the Congress proved unable to resolve a number of urgent problems relating to the stabilization of society and political reform, made a tactical error by rejecting the president's initiative on holding a referendum on 25 April 1993—despite the validity of the arguments pointing to the inexpediency of holding one—and also put off a radical denouement of the political crisis by not supporting the proposal to hold an early general election. It was noted that during the adoption of decisions on early elections and a referendum, the corporate interests of the deputies prevailed over political considerations.

Having analyzed the increased role of the components of the Federation as a new factor at the Congress and having acknowledged the need to strengthen federative

principles and the role of local government, the party board nevertheless expressed concern in connection with the spontaneous nature of the redistribution of powers between the center and the localities, which could lead to the uncontrollable disintegration of Russia.

The board also drew the attention of the leadership of the "Free Russia" faction and the "Democratic Center" bloc to centrist deputies' reduced readiness for planned solidarity actions, and proposed that preparations for the next congress, the ninth, start immediately.

The campaign for early general elections must be continued and the correct atmosphere for holding them must be formed in society—this is the basic idea of the stance of the People's Party of Free Russia Board on the results of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies.

Moscow Mayor Luzhkov on Results of Congress

MK1903123093 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 93 p 5

[Interview with Moscow Mayor Yu. Luzhkov by M. Polyatykin: "Yuriy Luzhkov: The Deputies Are Taking Away Powers, But They Are Avoiding Responsibility"]

[Text] Naturally, we had to ask the mayor of Moscow for his views on the Eighth Congress as it came to an end. In the first place, because Moscow hosts, accommodates, and keeps the deputies warm and fed. Secondly, because the constraints on the executive authorities' functions directly affect the capital's government. Third, we know what Yu. Luzhkov thinks of the Moscow City Soviet deputies' attacks on the government and that he unequivocally took the president's side at the last congress, unlike many ditherers.

When asked the obvious question about his view of the results of the congress Yuriy Mikhaylovich replied:

[Luzhkov] The chief result of the work done by the deputies over the four days, one might say, is the heightening of this administrative body's adverse effect on the situation in the country and the refusal to hold the referendum that was scheduled by the previous congress. The people have been denied the right to judge the authorities, to assess their actions, and, in the broad sense, to choose the country's future path of development.

Apparently, the deputies can dispense with the people's view and they are prepared to act on their own behalf. You call them the people's elected representatives?

During these four days yet another major step was taken to weaken central authority, not only executive, but representative too.

[Polyatykin] It is not entirely clear. It would appear that the deputies had gotten everyone they wanted into the fold by exploiting the conservative majority, which you could not call an opposition by any stretch of the imagination. Yet they have become weaker rather than stronger as a result.

[Luzhkov] Precisely. Some 150 to 300 deputies have always actively opposed the president's policy, the president's line. There are the waverers, but the vast majority were solid at the Eighth Congress in their opposition to executive authority and to the president. This solid opposition made an impact—it dealt a blow to the proposals that had been jointly elaborated and had been supported by the president. Other decisions adopted also aimed at weakening executive authority.

But this demarcation among the deputies is objectively bound to contribute to a weakening of their own positions. Television viewers, the very people on whose behalf the deputies are so fond of speaking, have for a long time watched talking rather than working representatives of authority. So maybe most people are indifferent to what is happening in the Kremlin.

Although the psychological assault on the brain and on the nerves is pretty powerful: The large number of voters in favor—a unanimity almost in the best traditions of past years—would perplex anyone. The onlooker might think that the vast majority of Muscovites and Russians thinks the same way as the deputies, but their eyes are playing tricks. All the public opinion polls tell a different story.

[Polyatykin] Some say you get what you are looking for in any poll.

[Luzhkov] Maybe, but not in our case. People can see what is going on. The solid section of deputies, seeking to [illegible]ch the power functions in the country and center [illegible]hem on themselves, say nothing about responsibility. But if someone makes it to the top he has to clearly state: As well as this glittering prize, I have to accept the heavy burden of responsibility for my actions and for the results of my activities. Once again the congress has disavowed the executive authorities and has stated that there are many bad things in the country, that the economy is in decline and the crisis is deepening. And, as is the way in Russia, it was quick to find culprits.

[Polyatykin] We all witnessed it. As in the immortal epic, one kept hearing in the hall the words: Get Lyapkin-Tyapkin over here! [reference to character in Gogol's "Government Inspector," treated as a fall guy]

[Luzhkov] But notice that there was not one word of criticism of the Supreme Soviet. No one asked: What is its part in all that is going on? And what is the role of the congress itself? Even if pressed I cannot say that they have played a consolidating, unifying role. This system of representative authority is objectively crumbling, moreover it is bringing down our society—since after the congress the central authority and all this authority's bodies are forced to work in conditions of the utmost uncertainty.

Who is in control now? Who is to make the decisions, who should one look to? Finally, who is responsible for making decisions and for their implementation?

These and others are the big questions today, the questions that demand an answer. Yet instead of actually working, people are in a state of vacillation and uncertainty. So the main thing the deputies achieved at their congress was to weaken central authority.

[Polyatykin] In your opinion, what threat does this pose in the present conditions?

[Luzhkov] First of all the desire of Federation subjects, krays, oblasts, and regions for autonomization will increase, as will the desire to solve most problems by their own efforts, through "internal reserves." The same will happen not only with territories and enterprises but also with private persons—every cell in society right down to the single individual will start trying to obtain a higher level of sovereignization, and the disintegration process in Russia will intensify.

I think that one of the first questions the Congress should have considered is the question concerning certain republics' nonpayments to the federal budget. They are not transferring resources to the central authority and are not paying taxes, although questions concerning the Defense Ministry, Foreign Ministry, and certain other ministries are decided exclusively by the central authority. It cannot, without having an adequate amount of resources, fulfill the functions it is responsible for and is therefore becoming weaker and weaker.

[Polyatykin] But it is well known that a powerful and wealthy state develops wherever there are powerful and wealthy citizens populating it. We too are going down this road today, if the champions of voucherization and share-issuing are to be believed...

[Luzhkov] The transfer of ownership into the hands of labor collectives will possibly bear some fruit, but I do not consider this measure a panacea for all our troubles. Let us take a worker at a profitable enterprise and a schoolteacher, a polyclinic physician, and a kindergarten teacher. On top of ownership the worker at a profitable privatized enterprise receives good dividends in the form of a voucher. Nowadays a salesman at the privatized state department store is in a much more favorable condition than the schoolteacher. What dividends will she receive? From what? From free teaching?

[Polyatykin] Currently there are also many disputes about Russia's state structure—whether it should be a parliamentary or presidential republic. Are you personally "for the first or second International?"

[Luzhkov] I am not going to pretend not to know like Vasil Ivanych [Chapayev, a Bolshevik general during the Civil War, who became known for not expressing an opinion—for example, whether he backed the first or second International—until he heard that of his interlocutor] I will say quite definitely: In my view, it is now impossible for us to have a parliamentary republic. If the economy did not depend on the government to the same extent as it now does, then that would be another matter. But for as long as it remains regulated it is premature to talk of a parliamentary republic. As a rule, big leaps both in politics and economics end with a fall into an abyss.

And what kind of parliamentary republic can we talk about if parliamentarians, having weakened the executive branch, have not assumed that part of the responsibility they have taken away from the president? Nobody has even dared to assume this part of the burden, and it remains unclaimed. Consequently Russia is in great danger.

[Polyatykin] Where does the solution lie?

[Luzhkov] Primarily in pepping up the position of the president and of all the structures working together with him. In the economic sphere this process must proceed on a legal basis, without extreme measures—that would simply be the last straw for us. That is, what should be done is what we—the executive branch's organs—are doing, have been doing, and will continue to do—and that is our job.

Political Issues

Yeltsin at Mother's Bedside in Yekaterinburg

AU2103183693 Paris AFP in English 1811 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, March 21 (AFP)—President Boris Yeltsin rushed to his mother's beside in the eastern city of Yekaterinburg where she was said to be seriously ill, a government official told AFP Sunday [21 March].

Yeltsin, in the throes of a power struggle with Russia's conservative-dominated parliament, travelled to his home town of Yekaterinburg (formerly Sverdlovsk), in the Urals, some time after the recording on Saturday [20 March] afternoon of a televised address to the nation.

He has not been seen since making the recording, in which he announced the imposition of special presidential rule pending the holding of a referendum on a motion of confidence to resolve his conflict with the parliament.

A family member contacted by telephone said Yeltsin's mother Claudia was seriously ill, but added that he did not know where she currently was.

The government official, who insisted on anonymity, said he believed that Mrs. Yeltsin, aged 85, had perhaps already died.

Mrs. Yeltsin received treatment for heart trouble at a Moscow hospital a few months ago.

Mother's Death Reported

AU2103190293 Paris AFP in English 1853 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, March 21 (AFP)—President Boris Yeltsin's 85-year-old mother Claudia died Sunday [21 March] in the Kremlin hospital after being treated for heart problems, a source close to the presidency told AFP on condition of anonymity.

"The president is very upset," the source said.

Itogi Reports Death

LD2103195393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Mar 93

[From the "Itogi" newscast]

[Text] As we have just been informed, the Russian Federation president's mother passed away today.

Yeltsin Received News at Dacha

AU2103194993 Paris AFP in English 1920 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, March 21 (AFP)—President Boris Yeltsin's 85- year-old mother Claudia died Sunday [21 March] in the Kremlin hospital after being treated for heart problems, a source close to the presidency told AFP on condition of anonymity.

"The president is very upset," the source said.

Yeltsin was was spending the weekend at his dacha near Moscow when he learned of his mother's death, the source added.

The president was earlier reported—apparently erroneously—to have rushed to his mother's beside in the eastern city of Yekaterinburg, his home town.

Yeltsin, in the throes of a power struggle with Russia's conservative-dominated parliament, has not been seen in public since recording a televised address to the nation on Saturday [20 March].

In the address he announced the imposition of special presidential rule pending the holding of a referendum on a motion of confidence to resolve his conflict with the parliament.

Yeltsin's mother had received treatment in Moscow for heart trouble several times in recent months, and the president made regular trips to Yekaterinburg to see her.

Media Expresses Sympathy

LD2203055293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0522 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] May God give the president strength to deal with his personal tragedy: the loss of his closest relative. His mother's heart did not endure his trial. Radio Rossii's staff expresses sympathy with Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin]. We are sure he will have enough courage. We pray he has enough strength, which is constantly being spent on overcoming the blatant resistance to the course of reform.

[Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 0330 GMT on 22 March, during the "Utro" program, also carried expressions of sympathy from the program announcers.]

Yeltsin Expresses Thanks

LD2203125493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1224 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Boris Yeltsin has been receiving numerous telegrams and telephone calls from the leaders of states, republics, krays, and oblasts, from labor collectives, military units, from families, and from individual citizens expressing deep condolence in connection with the death of his mother Klavdiya Yeltsina and expressing sympathy with the president of Russia over his irreplaceable loss.

The Russian Federation president thanks everyone for their sincere words of condolence and support. This was reported today by the press service of the Russian Federation president.

Yeltsin Decree Supports Russian Club

LD2203104193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1025 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Cooperation and mutual support of Russian-speaking communities on the territory of foreign countries is the objective of the non-governmental organisation Russian Club. Its initiative was approved by President Yeltsin's decree.

Programmes of the Russian Club, aimed at preserving the cultural and language medium in the Russian-speaking communities abroad and rendering assistance in the settlement and social adaptation of the Russian diaspora abroad and those who came to live in the Russian Federation, may be financed from the reserve fund of the Russian Government.

Kozyrev Comments on Parliament's Tasks

LD1903170293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—"The Parliament should work professionally," Andrey Kozyrev, Russian foreign minister, has said in an interview with the MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS newspaper.

Both we and the Supreme Soviet are concerned about human rights in the former Soviet republics. However, it has already been six months as the deputies cannot get around to dealing with the most urgent issue—introducing relevant amendments to the law on citizenship. Russian-speaking citizens reside both in the former Soviet republics and in foreign countries. Thus, we are

losing a great number of intelligentsia and businessmen who could work with us. They should be given an opportunity to obtain Russian citizenship or to hold dual citizenship.

How many times have we asked the parliament, the minister went on, to discuss the living conditions of Russian troops stationed outside our country? This issue is much more urgent for us than Iraq and is much closer to the functions and powers of our parliament. We cannot dictate anything to the former Soviet republics (I am categorically against imperial policy) but one must not leave without having created military bases—on legal grounds and with clear protection for personnel and their families, Andrey Kozyrev stressed. I have seen the bases of "the damned imperialists;" nobody can come near them. Nobody calls them occupants; there are relevant accords, and a legal system has been worked out, whereas we have to work on the basis of temporary provisions.

Half a year ago we, along with the military, introduced a plan for Russia's participation in measures to support peace (including in Yugoslavia), but it did not seem to get through to parliament, the minister continued. Everyone wanted to strengthen the CIS. Now, the Commonwealth charter has been approved; even President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk said "yes," although indirectly. The charter will come into force, however, only after its ratification by the republican parliaments. We need to drop everything and to concentrate on the CIS Charter, and work with other parliaments, especially with Ukraine's parliament. That's what the Supreme Soviet should be doing. It is a bit more important than Iraq, and closer, Andrey Kozyrev pointed out. "The oversimplication in our politics is terrible," stressed Andrey Kozyrev. "We are also tired of local wars; we have to fight the nationalists. We should not make useless threats, however, to pack off troops somewhere to restore law and order or to defend the Russian-speaking population. This will bring us the Afghanistan situation. Everything should be done professionally and on the basis of the law. Yet right now, instead of providing us with what we need to work, a legal foundation, noisy debates, and meetings are spreading in the Supreme Soviet." Regarding foreign policy issues, the minister stated that the Russian side expects from the meeting between Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton "the implementation of the statements and agreements of the previous administration on the principles of partnership (which were a great achievement)." On the subject of Russo-Japanese relations, "a ripening process is under way," noted the minister. Both sides are beginning to understand that full-scale relations are needed between them and that they must depart from the current abnormal situation.

'Imminent' Resignation of Chubays Reported

MK2003152893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Mar 93 p 1

[Postfactum report under "In Brief" rubric:"Chubays to Go?"]

[Text] It has become known from competent sources that at a government session, which took place after the end of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies, Viktor Chernomyrdin, prime minister of the Russian Federation, sharply criticized the privatization program in an unofficial conversation with Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property. It has become known from the same source that the resignation of Anatoliy Chubays is imminent according to the formula "leaving on his own accord."

According to official information, Anatoliy Chubays is now on a business trip; at his secretariat, however, they declined to say where precisely.

Communist Party Executive Committee Plenum Opens 20 Mar

LD2003105793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0722 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Vdovin]

[Text] Moscow, 20 March (ITAR-TASS)—The first plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] opened today in Moscow.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the CPRF press center that the sitting would be a closed one. Only three media publications would be allowed to cover the event: PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and GLASNOST. A news conference is expected to be held later with the results of the plenum.

Communists for Coalition of 'National Patriotic Forces'

OW2103144393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The short-term task of the Russian communist party "is to morally and politically isolate extremism and set up a broad coalition of national patriotic forces". This is said in the decision adopted by the first plenum of the communist party's central committee in Moscow on Saturday [20 March].

The more than 100 committee members who gathered in Moscow welcomed the results of the 8 Congress of People's Deputies and fully supported the Supreme Soviet. The party's short-term plans are to hold a rally in support of people's deputies at the White House on March 28, to mark Lenin's birth anniversary by work for the nation, known as the "Lenin Subbotnik tradition", and to hold an all-Russia conference, entitled "Lenin Today".

The plenum urged communist party supporters to boycott the plebiscite being organized by the President. Addressing the audience, the communist party leader

Gennadiy Zyuganov described the current political situation as a "struggle between the parties loyal to the state and the parties of treason". In his opinion, "the process of the consolidation of the left movement is under way, the movement which is gaining more and more sympathy among the public".

Zyuganov believes there isn't a single essential element for the imposition of a state of emergency in Russia: neither army support, nor favorable public opinion. "Russia has exhausted the limit of civil wars but there still is a chance to change the situation by peaceful reforms"—the secretary of the Russian communist party's central committee pointed out.

Military Issues

Navy Chief Comments on Cuts, Updating Over 2 Years

OW1903144193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1422 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The strength of the Russian Navy will be reduced by 20

in the next two years. This is a normal process warranted by the changes in the international situation, Commander in Chief of the Russian Navy Admiral Feliks Gromov told journalists at a press conference on Friday [19 March]. Admiral Gromov is accompanying Russia's Defense Minister General Grachev on his inspection trip to Severomorsk. Meantime, the naval commander indicated that the Russian Navy will undergo essential qualitative changes. The new ship-building program envisages, in particular, construction of a series of multipurpose warships with cruise missiles and air defense capabilities on board. In the words of Admiral Gromov, Russia's defense minister is "unequivocal" in regards to integrating the Russian Federation with the other republics of the former Soviet Union, first and foremost, with Ukraine, in the sphere of warship construction. General Grachev reasons, he said, that a political alliance in the framework of the former Soviet Union may fail, while both Russia and the other CIS countries will benefit from an economic alliance in the framework of the commonwealth. Admiral Gromov said that Russia's defense minister believes it would be necessary for the Russian Navy to adopt in its inventory several nuclear aircraft carriers. Russia ought to maintain at least three aircraft carriers for fulfilling strategic missions at each of Russia's four fleets. In the meantime, Russia's Ministry of Defense clearly realizes that it would be highly difficult to implement such a project under the conditions of the ongoing economic crisis.

Former Pacific Fleet Commander Telegrams Grachev, Gromov

OW2103112293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1011 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On March 19 Admiral Georgiy Khvatov, the former Pacific Fleet commander released of his duties some days ago, sent a telegram to the Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and the Russian Naval Commander Feliks Gromov. In this telegram Khvatov notes that mass media publishes different comments and insinuations concerning his retirement which do not coincide with his point of view. "I have not voiced any statements on this issues and I am not going to," Khvatov said. "I understand that I am responsible for the incidents in the training detachments of the Pacific Fleet," the former Pacific Fleet commander underlined.

The decision to release Khvatov of his duties was made due to the death of 4 military students in a Pacific Fleet training center situated on the island of Russky and illness of more than 600 mariners.

Grachev Remarks During North Fleet Visit Cited

PM2203165193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Pelts and Vladimir Gundarov: "Russian Defense Minister at the Northern Fleet"]

[Text] As we have already reported, Army General Pavel Grachev has been taking part in the final stage of the scheduled inspection of the Northern Fleet. During the inspection the crew of the Tayfun atomic submarine system received an excellent rating, while Pilot First Class Colonel Timur Apakidze and test pilot Sergey Melnikov demonstrated top flying skills during the minister's visit to the heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser Admiral Flota Sovetskogo Soyuza Kuznetsov.

On the evening of 18 March a meeting was held between the defense minister and officers of the fleet. On 19 March Pavel Grachev laid flowers at the memorial to heroes of the Northern Fleet on Severomorsk's Primorskaya Square, after which he visited surface ships at their moorings. The defense minister went out to sea aboard the large ASW ship Admiral Levchenko, giving the actions of the crew in dealing with its surprise exercise task an excellent rating. In the afternoon Army General Grachev took part in a session of the Fleet Military Council, at which Northern Fleet Commander Admiral Oleg Yerofeyev, commanders of large strategic formations, and commanders of combined units and units were heard. It was noted at the session that questions concerning combat training and combat readiness in the fleet have been resolved on the whole. At the same time quite a few shortcomings were pointed out, and the need to take resolute measures to tighten military discipline was raised in blunt fashion.

Russian Federation Defense Minister Grachev delivered several statements and reports during his visits to and meetings with fleet personnel and made speeches to sailors and journalists.

The Armed Conflict Between Georgia and Abkhazia

In the last five days, since 13 March, aircraft of the Georgian Armed Forces have carried out 14 strikes against the seismic laboratory in the Esher region and the Air Defense Troops sanatorium in the region of Sukhumi. The raid on 17 March was the most barbaric. As a result of that raid by four Su-25s, which carried out precision strikes on the military sanatorium, five people were killed and 17 wounded, including one serviceman. I have issued another protest regard this, the minister said, while the troops "have been set an even more serious task in repulsing agression from Georgian formations."

The Georgain side states that our planes are carrying out bombing raids, including raids on the city of Sukhumi. That is a lie and a provocation. According to our reliable intelligence data, the Georgian Air Force possesses seven Su-25s, which were assembled at an aircraft repair plant in Tbilisi, painted in the colors of the Russian Armed Forces, bear a star similar to the one on our aircraft, and carry out intimidatory [demonstrastionnyy] flights as well as actually participating in the bombing raids on settlements about which the Georgian side writes and broadcasts.

Military Reform

Despite the difficult conditions in which military reform is taking place, we have managed in under a year, Army General Grachev said, to check the process of declining standards of combat readiness, to restore the command and control of forces, to carry out an audit of the armaments remaining in Russia, to elaborate a new military equipment policy, to formulate an organizational development overview of the Armed Forces, to start forming a new force grouping, to start creating mobile forces, to start reorganizing the manning structure of the Armed Forces, to implement the planned reduction and withdrawal of troops from abroad, to elaborate normative documents on maintaining combat readiness, to develop conceptual approaches to the employment of the strategic nuclear forces, to study the purely military component of military doctrine, and to start the transition to a mixed-manning principle.

The Defense Ministry has made the drafting of new military legislation one of the areas of its activity. Army General Grachev identified two problems as priorities. First, the need to take urgent effective measures to form a legal basis for the organizational and long-term development of the Russian Armed Forces. Second, the creation of a reliable mechanism for the execution of legal acts passed in the interests of ensuring the vital activity of the Army and Navy.

Russia's Naval Strategy

Russia must aim at creating a navy capable of acting as an instrument of foreign policy and safeguarding its economic interests and national security, the defense minister said. Russia's maritime strategy is based on two main concepts regarding the employment of the Navy: The peacetime concept of deterrence and naval cooperation, and the wartime concept of timely defense and halting of aggression.

Priority in the organizational development of the Navy will be accorded to the construction of submarines and multirole surface ships, Pavel Grachev noted. The construction and commissioning of previously laid down ships and service craft and preparation for limited batch construction of promising new-generation ships at Russian enterprises will continue in 1993-1995. Moreover, it is intended to complete the construction of a number of ships and auxiliary craft at Ukrainian shipbuilding plants under the intergovernmental agreement between Russia and Ukraine.

Servicemen's Social Protection

Last year, Pavel Grachev reported, servicemen received 60,000 apartments, which is twice the number the military obtained in more economically favorable years. But even such housing provision rates do not, the minister said, meet all the requirements. At present more than 120,000 servicemen's families are not provided with apartments, while around 60,000 servicemen discharged into the reserve from the Armed Forces are on the housing waiting list. In view of the withdrawal of troops to Russia the number of those in need of apartments will increase by another 400,000 families. Given this, it is intended to double the amount of housing construction in the next three years and resolve the housing problem in general by the end of 1997.

Ends Visit

LD1903212493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1428 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vasiliy Belousov and Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Murmansk, 19 Mar—Today Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister currently in Severomorsk, continued his inspection of the Northern Fleet's surface ships' battle readiness. Acting on his instructions the large anti-submarine ship Admiral Levchenko carried out emergency preparations for a military campaign and went out into the open seas. The ship's crew dealt with this task and also with preparations to conduct military actions with conventional weapons succesfully.

On board the ship a meeting took place between correspondents and Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Navy, who is also taking part in the inspection of the Northern Fleet sailors. The commander in chief told correspondents that over the next two years

the Fleet's complement will be cut by about 20 percent. At the same time the quality of military ships will increase. A new ship construction program, developed by the military department, proposes the creation of small series of ships with high military characteristics. Heavy guided missile cruisers of the type which is being finished at the "Peter the Great" Baltic factory will no longer be built. The preference remains for ships with smaller displacement which are universal in their technical possibilities and weapons. The same day the defense minister and the group of military commanders inspecting the Fleet visited the heavy guided missile cruiser Admiral Ushakov and took part in the session of the Northern Fleet's military council. Summing up the planned inspection, Army General Pavel Grachev told correspondents that he considers the Fleet's battle readiness satisfactory. The defense minister is returning to Moscow this evening.

Problems of Repostings From Hot Spots Viewed

PM2203114393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 93 p 1

[Oleg Falichev article: "We Now Have No 'Warm Districts,' But Planned Replacement Is Still Needed"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Defense Ministry Main Directorate of Cadre Training and Distribution [MDCTD] recently received a letter from a Kazakhstani rayon city. Lieutenant Colonel A. Bardin, deputy commander of a military unit under the Russian Federation's jurisdiction, was writing on behalf of the officers' collective. The writer reported that there are quite a lot of officers in the unit who long ago completed the set periods of service for that locality. Some have exceeded the period by a year or more, but there is no planned replacement.

Similar letters, albeit personal ones, had previously been received from the Transbaykal, Far Eastern, and other military districts. Roughly the same picture has taken shape in a number of units there, and this has naturally affected morale in military collectives. It turns out, alas, that we are not talking of isolated instances. What are their origins?

The legislatively approved institution of the planned replacement of officers in localities with set periods of service and among troops temporarily stationed abroad has existed in the Armed Forces since 1968. Thanks to the functioning of this institution, up to 30,000 officers annually were moved out, as they say. They were replaced by an equal number. Multiply this by the number of family members, and it will become clear what masses of people moved about the country. With no particular problems or delays, moreover. Why has the system perfected over the years suddenly malfunctioned?

Here the reasons are mainly of an objective nature. They are closely linked with the acquisition of sovereignty by the former republics of the USSR. Thus, the Odessa, Kiev, Carpathian, and Belorussian Military Districts were always attractive to replacement officers from the Far Eastern, Transbaykal, and Siberian Districts. Now, like many others, they have "dropped" out of the replacement plans. The Southern, Central, and Northern Groups of Forces have also ceased to exist. Account also has to be taken of the fact that the "independent" migration, figuratively speaking, of officers to national armies began in 1992.

It is no wonder that this acute problem was submitted for examination at the All-Army Conference of Leading Personnel of Cadre Organs of the Russian Federation Armed Forces in February. Delivering the report there, Lt. General Ye. Vysotskiy, chief of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry MDCTD, admitted: "In connection with the breakup of the former USSR and the creation of the armed forces of the sovereign states in the so-called nearby foreign parts, the planned replacement did not take place in 1992. The result is a considerable number of unreplaced officers...." It was pointed out at the same conference that a particularly large number of complaints may be leveled at the Cadre Directorate of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus. Control of the replacement process was virtually lost there.

Did the leadership of the MDCTD know of this, and did it take measures to somehow influence the situation? Yes, it did know, and measures were taken, although I will emphasize that it was extremely difficult to do this. A number of interstate agreements of a multilateral and a bilateral nature have been prepared with the MDCTD's participation and adopted at the level of the Commonwealth states' defense ministries between March 1992 and the present. They have been signed by representatives of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belarus, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan.

This has made it possible to regulate, among other questions, the procedure for the reciprocal transfer of servicemen. In accordance with the said agreements, approximately 33,000 officers have now been detached from the Russian Federation Armed Forces to the armed forces of states (republics) in nearby foreign parts.

In the middle of 1992 an important decision was adopted on one of the most burning problems—the problem of replacement from "hot spots." Unfortunately, prior to this it frequently happened that people who had been under fire and had lost accommodations and property traveled, by way of replacement, to somewhere in the Far East or Siberia, out of the frying pan into the fire, as they say. Therefore in the summer of 1992 a group of officers and generals of the MDCTD and the Ministry of Defense traveled to the Western Group of Forces and investigated on the spot who had been serving for how many years there, by whom they were being replaced, and where they were going. A number of violations were brought to light. That resulted in a draft directive on the priority sending to the Western Group of

Forces of officers from "hot spots" and districts where there is a complex sociopolitical situation. The defense minister signed that directive (D-07), and during the very first stage, from 1 September 1992 through 31 January 1993, more than 1,350 people left for the Western Group of Forces by way of replacement: 435 from the Transcaucasus Military District, 327 from the Baltic region, 94 from the Dniester region, 211 from Central Asia.... That is, approximately 80 percent from "hot spots."

That practice will be continued this year. What is the procedure for selecting candidates for replacement? In principle, it remains as before. Chiefs of cadre organs work with them in close cooperation with Officers' Assemblies and the permanently functioning certification commissions in order to prevent favoritism and violations of the requirements of the Guidance on Organizing and Implementing the Replacement of Officers and the defense minister's Order No. 228.

And yet problems remain which cannot be solved overnight. Which ones? One of the chief problems is the loss of the prestigious nature of service in remote localities and of effective incentives to serve there. Thus, districts with harsh climatic conditions account for the bulk of the overall undermanning of the Armed Forces with officers. Young officers are continuing to leave the Armed Forces. Last year alone approximately 35,000 young officers under the age of 30 were transferred to the reserve on various grounds. This was despite the fact that a "military package" of laws conducive to service has been adopted, and the institution of the contract will soon start operating. Which way out can be seen?

"Service in remote localities must be made just as prestigious as in the Western Group of Forces, let us say," Lt. Col. A. Abakshonok, senior officer of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry MDCTD, said. "For the time being everything is held up by housing, pay, and the development of the social infrastructure."

There is no need, I believe, to say much about the fact that the problem of prestigious service is not as simple as it might seem and is directly linked to the political, economic, and other questions facing the country as a whole. It also depends on the state's legislative policy, the demographic situation.... It hardly seems possible to resolve it in the very near future. Thus, the army will evidently continue to suffer a shortage of young cadres and encounter the problems of officers' timely transfer and replacement.

Work on regularizing the List of Russian Federation Localities with Harsh Climatic Conditions needs to be continued. The list is constantly being improved, but I was told at the MDCTD that there is still a need to revise some things.

In conclusion I would like to say the following. Only the first stage of the reform in the Russian Armed Forces has been completed. The main work lies ahead. Therefore I would like to believe that sooner or later we will reach the point where officers will proceed to any district and to any place of service not only in awareness of their duty but also with inner consent and satisfaction.

Moscow Forces Inadequate for Political Emergency

MK1903145893 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 4, 16 Mar 93 p 2

[Pavel Felgengauer article: "Balance of Forces Around the Kremlin. Possibilities of Power Ministries Limited"]

[Text] Congresses of Russian Federation People's Deputies are often accompanied by reports about mass movements of tanks and other military columns. Once, on 28 March 1991, downtown Moscow was indeed blocked by joint Army and Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] forces. The "democrats" did not get through to Manezh Square. Nonetheless, the attempt to oust Yeltsin from the post of Supreme Soviet chairman at that time, at the Third Congress, did not succeed.

The 28 March operation called for the mobilization of essentially all the forces in the Moscow region, including military academy and college cadets, and it looked impressive enough despite the total political absurdity of what was going on—the August coup later in the year was organized much less efficiently.

At present the real potential of the Russian Federation "power" ministries are considerably more modest. The manpower level and the overall combat readiness of the Moscow Military District elite units have fallen: This applies to the 2d ("Tamanskaya") Motorized Rifle Division, the 4th ("Kantemirovskaya") Tank Division, and the 27th motorized rifle brigade (in Teplyy Stan). The total mobilization of all forces and facilities (including the cadets) will at best yield some 15,000 to 20,000 men, whereas, according to leading experts at the Russian Federation MVD and Defense Ministry, at least 125,000 are required to control the situation in the capital. (For example, in Beijing more than 10 divisions were brought in to enforce the state of emergency during the "events on Tiannanmen Square").

Russian Federation MVD representatives believe, however, that the Russian Federation Defense Ministry forces are ill-equipped to carry out successful police operations and in the final analysis cannot be counted on. (The army generals, severely criticized for operations in Tbilisi, Baku, and Vilnius and for August 1991, more than agree with this assessment, so that if any trouble should arise the armed forces will try to maintain "neutrality" as long as possible.)

Meanwhile MVD forces in the Moscow region are also rather limited. The Dzerzhinskiy special-purpose motorized infantry division (OMSDON), the special militia motorized rifle brigade (recently returned from Igushetia, stationed near the Paveletskiy railroad terminal), the Moscow special-purpose militia, the militia stations, the criminal investigation departments, the firemen, and so

forth could, given leaves of absence, general undermanning, "business trips" to the Caucasus, and other factors, muster a few tens of thousands of men, but only for a "one-time" operation. Therefore, these forces are nowhere near enough to enforce a state of emergency in a city with a population of 10 million. The law enforcement forces could ensure effective control "if anything happened" only in some parts of downtown Moscow. The situation in the Moscow Kremlin, though, is special. The garrison of this well- preserved medieval fortress, comprising a reinforced "Kremlin" regiment (plus special security forces) is accountable directly to the presidential protection directorate; while, experts say, it would only take 1 (one) man armed with a couple of five-liter Cheremukhi tear gas canisters (assuming the security force "looked away" for a couple of minutes) to "dissolve" any congress.

At the same time any clashes, even initially the most insignificant ones, between activist supporters and opponents of the president (for example, Anpilov supporters and Democratic Russia people) could fairly quickly destabilize the situation in the city, with military and political consequences that at the present time are hard to predict.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Signs Decree on Fuel, Energy Enterprises

LD2203091693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0836 GMT 22 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS corrrespondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Yeltsin has signed a decree on exempting enterprises of the oil and gas industry, geological prospecting enterprises and oil refineries, which supply their products for roubles to be exported by the state, of the obligatory sale of 50 per cent of hard currency revenues coming from the export of oil, gas condensate and their derivatives in accordance with the quotas of the enterprises. The procedure will be in effect in 1993, until the system of centralised export of oil, gas condensate and their derivatives for state needs is cancelled.

The decree, that was signed by the president on March 19, says that the measure was taken for the purpose of "making up for the reduction of hard currency revenues of enterprises as a result of ensuring the supply of oil, gas condensate and the derivatives to be exported in the centralised way for meeting the state's needs."

Customs Duty Concessions to Energy Exporters Defended

PM1903105593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Mar 93 p 1

[Yuriy Popov article: "Fuel and Energy Complex Enterprises Receive Concessions"]

[Text] V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has signed a decree exempting state enterprises in the fuel and energy complex from paying customs duties on export deliveries of oil, gas condensate, and products of their processing. This concerns oil- and gas-extracting, geological prospecting, and oil-refining enterprises which make export deliveries for state needs.

This question could occur to many economists keeping track of the problem: Why, after the heated arguments and proof that concessions drain the already emaciated treasury and are far from always used for the proper purpose, are enterprises in the fuel and energy complex once again getting them? For it is known that last year alone exemption from export duties cost the state approximately 2.5 billion rubles. Does the new decree not mean that the government is abandoning its intention of sharply restricting the range of recipients of concessions and toughening the regime for granting them?

Let us reply: No, it does not mean that. Despite the unpopularity of such measures, the government is resolutely inclined to instill rigid order in the matter of granting concessions to regions, enterprises, and organizations. As for the fuel and energy complex, however, quite frankly, a critical situation has taken shape here. According to preliminary estimates, this year we will manage to extract 60 million tonnes less oil than last year, obtaining just 340 million tonnes. Unless we take prompt measures, according to Fuel and Energy Minister Yu. Shafranik, we will extract still less and by the end of the year we will be able to meet only our own needs. In other words, we will have nothing to sell.

The decree in question can, with good reason, be numbered among such prompt, urgent measures. It must ease the position of state enterprises and of those in which the controlling holding of shares belongs to the state. In this way they will be able to compensate for the drop in currency receipts: They will not pay the customs duty on their quotas, including on additional quotas the currency proceeds from whose sales are used for production-technical needs. The government hopes thereby to ensure the steady working of these enterprises.

Thus, the measure that has been taken is forced and necessary.

Economy Minister Urges Credit Restrictions

MK2003083193 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 19 Mar 93 p 6

[Anatoliy Pankov report: "Economy Minister Andrey Nechayev: We Have Still Not Passed the Peak of Inflation"]

[Text] At the latest VIP Club session Russian Economy Minister Andrey Nechayev was the opponent for the representatives of business circles. This session took place the day before the Congress of Deputies, but the

topicality of the problems that were discussed has in no way diminished. Moreover, bearing in mind the current disposition of political forces after the Congress' "historic decisions," it is even more important to understand the reformist government's position and actions. Answering the entrepreneurs' questions, the minister said, in particular:

The economic situation in the country is complex, although I am not about to start dramatizing it. Problem number one is inflation. And even if we take all possible measures right now we have still not passed the peak of inflation. The peak of credit emission came in the summer, and approximately three months later we got, as you know, soaring prices. The other side of the coin is the fall in the foreign exchange rate. I think that, despite all our efforts, in one month's time we are in for the second peak of inflation or a leap in prices. The point is that recently we suddenly found out that, immediately prior to the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies in November-December, the Central Bank contrived to issue another 1.5 trillion in credits. It is this discrepancy between the Central Bank's and the government's policy that concerns us most of all.

What we have in our country is a situation that has been turned on its head. While throughout the world the one and only thing a central bank does is to regulate the money supply and stabilize the national currency, while restraining in every possible way the government's appetite for obtaining credit, our Central Bank considers that the most essential thing is "to support production." I think it is understood that, when inflation is in the order of 30 percent a month, generally the arguments for supporting production and investment activity are shallow and groundless. And, I repeat, no matter what measures we take, there will be a second wave of inflation in April.

But we are not going to stand idly by. We have reached the conclusion that it is necessary to return to the financial measures that the government was trying to implement (and fairly successfully did implement) at the beginning of last year: We will prescribe a quarterly total for credit emissions.

In the first quarter the maximum amount could be in the order of 1.4 trillion rubles [R] for all forms of credit, including credit for covering the state budget deficit. This figure has not yet been finally confirmed. Of course, its scale is frightening, but we simply have to appreciate the scale of prices with which we are living.

In the first quarter the budget deficit will be relatively small. Nevertheless the limitation of the overall level of credit emission means that we will also have to limit credits for agriculture as well as investment and conversion credits. True, so far a united opinion on this question has not crystallized within the government. Being by virtue of my post the man responsible for structural policy and for maintaining active investment, I, for instance, believe that great emphasis must be placed on investment and conversion credits. And (this is, so to speak, a seditious thought) the way I think is that, if you permit yourself a budget deficit, then it should be only through investments rather than social programs and the nonreturnable resources that are going on agriculture. It is necessary to reduce or at least relatively reduce subsidies to the coal industry, because it is clear that in our country this is to a considerable degree not viable. But, at the same time, right now it would be dangerous to refuse altogether to give any support to production, and therefore we at the Ministry of the Economy are completing the elaboration of sector priority programs, which we think it judicious to support by utilizing all state regulation measures, including flexible manipulation by applying import-export tariffs, setting quotas, and imposing taxes. If, for instance, an enterprise assumes sufficiently tough commitments concerning the use of circulating capital (relating to, let us say, making deliveries to the state contingency fund, not raising prices, self-limitation regarding the consumption fund, and so on), then we can proceed to tax concessions and to measures to unravel the nonpayment problem which is now once again starting to mushroom, although of course not at such a rate as in the spring.

We are preparing to move from talking about a vigorous structural policy to its implementation. In reality this means, on the one hand, selective support for production facilities, and on the other the closure of inefficient enterprises. Even the partial prices liberalization that we carried out (but there is still a long way to go until they have a normal structure) crystallized the most painful points: in certain machine building sectors and in light industry, where a whole host of production facilities have proved not to be viable given the current technologies and the prices—for instance for cotton—which we now have even when trading with Central Asian republics. I sent a proposal to the government on setting up a commission to support enterprises, with a view to setting up interdepartmental commissions both on the regional and sector levels, which would include representatives of the State Committee for the Management of Property, financial bodies, economic bodies, jurists, and so on, who would deal directly with enterprises until the bankruptcy procedure comes into force, and in order to determine precisely who has a chance of survival given some—extremely limited—support and where we should, at best, provide the resources for compensation, conversion, or the closure and liquidation of enterprises.

I would like to talk separately about the general production situation. Yes, the production volumes fell very severely in 1992. But a month-by-month analysis shows that there is a great element of overdramatization here. The level of production has been fairly stable approximately since October. And there are a number of sectors and branches in which the volumes are even increasing. It must not be forgotten that all the changes are taking place against the background of a gigantic slump in the defense industry. Twenty percent of the total decrease—that is, of course, very serious, but all the same it is not

a wholesale slump. Therefore we can allow ourselves a certain toughness in credit policy.

Certainly I agree that the situation in the oil-extraction industry is nigh-on tragic, since the sector is suffering from a high degree of inertia, and capital investments have to be made several years ahead if we want to guarantee production. But the situation is not as terrible at the moment as it could be later if we fail to give the sector immediate support. Oil production is forecast to fall by approximately 50 million tonnes this year and we will have barely enough to cover our own needs, and that is with some gasoline already being imported. In fact our output of light petroleum products is very low, so we are forced to release for domestic consumption and refinement substantially more oil than we would do if we had modern Western technology.

I have seen a number of papers ascribe to the Economy Ministry and to me personally an intention that is not entirely true, relating to amortization policy. Indeed, we did insist—and I believe the government's decision came too late—on a reevaluation of fixed capital, in order to increase amortization and thereby create an additional source of enterprise funds for investment. Incidentally, worldwide the bulk of investments comes from amortization, with only 5-10 percent coming from profits. At the moment enterprises are actually able to eat into amortization funds and use them for any purpose. This seems rather dangerous to me, so the proposal was that the amortization funds be held in a special account and used only for capital investment. But there is no question of centralizing these funds in any way or taking them away from enterprises, which I was allegedly calling for.

Agriculture Minister Views Land Reform

LD1903193093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1040 GMT on 19 March carries a 20-minute recorded interview with Agriculture Minister Viktor Nikolayevich Khlystun on the issue of land reform. The interviewer is journalist Lyudmila Kapyrina. The place and date of the interview is not given.

Khlystun opens by saying that land reform has been underway in Russia for two years, but it will take between five and seven years to complete the process of land redistribution, to create a state-regulated system for the rational use of land, and to sort out associated taxation problems. The ultimate goal is to make the land more productive.

He expresses regret that the first stage of land reform was geared more to redistribution than to other aspects of the problem. This is understandable because the most complex and critical question is the that of ownership and redistribution. He says that a fairly large land fund was set up during the first stage of reform. More than 10 million hectares remains in it. But this land is mostly in remote areas of the northwest and north. Virtually no land is available in areas where agriculture is already developed. However, this fund has made it possible to establish new farms, above all private ones, on land which was either not being used rationally or not used at all.

Asked how this land redistribution has been carried out, in view of constant warnings in various papers that Russia may end up having its own Karabakh because of the land redistribution, Khlystun replies: "I would like to note with satisfaction that during the last two years there have not been any serious or damaging collisions in the process of land redistribution, even on a local scale. I think this is because we chose the right way of going about this land redistribution. The land fund which was set up consisted, first and foremost, of land which was not being used or which was being used irrationally. This is all relative, of course. Nevertheless, we tried to use these lands, first and foremost.

"Second, we selected what I consider to be a fairly sound principle for land redistribution—fair shares for all. Everybody is given his own smallholding. When somebody leaves a collective, he is given an average-sized plot of land. This seems quite fair in the eyes of the public and does not cause very great social resistance.

"There is a third reason, I think, why this did not lead to very serious social collisions. The first stage of land reform was dominated by urban dwellers who rushed to obtain land. But by 1992 it was already the rural people themselves who were setting up private farms. When land is being portioned out, people have far more confidence in fellow-villagers whom they know. This does not cause stormy resistance, as was the case during the first few months.

"Nevertheless, there are many of shortcomings in the redistribution of land. There is hooliganism, pure and simple. There is corruption. There is abuse of office. These days, one can cite dozens, hundreds of examples of local leaders allocating land to themselves, to their relatives and friends, to their children's godparents, and so on—and not just the best land in terms of quality and location, but also in terms of sheer acreage. Covert deals are being struck. In other words, land is being registered in one person's name but actually used by someone else. In some cases, farms which appear to be private ones are being used as fronts. A supposedly private farm is allocated land belonging to a kolkhoz or sovkhoz. But the kolkhoz or sovkhoz goes on cultivating the land, and all the profits are pocketed by the director or his close relatives.

"All this really discredits the land reform and gives rise to just indignation. That is why the public may often wonder whether the whole idea of land reform, per se, is going to lead to this sort of pilfering, squandering, and misappropriation of land. I think the main reason why this is happening is the fairly tolerant attitude displayed by the bodies responsible for land reform, including Ministry of Agriculture agencies—but local soviets and heads of administration, first and foremost.

"Current legislation is not altogether perfect. There are many loopholes. There are certain contradictions. Nevertheless, it does create an opportunity for normal and fair redistribution of land. After all, most instances of misappropriation of land which we are encountering at the moment are caused not by legislative shortcomings but by attempts to find loopholes, and to get round the law in ways which are downright criminal. But the reaction to these criminal actions, unfortunately, is incommensurate at the moment. Neither the procuracy, nor the courts, nor other bodies which are supposed to ensure compliance with the law are working effectively enough at the moment, in my view. But yet again, I wish to stress that heads of agricultural bodies and, especially, heads of district committees for land reform or—as they are now called—land resources and organization, bear the principal responsibility for this. From a window in Moscow you cannot see what is happening in a remote rural soviet. So it is the job of the district committee to know whether the decision made on each plot of land is fair or not, and to take immediate steps to halt any illegal activity. Unfortunately, this is not happening everywhere."

Lyudmila Kapyrina notes that we already have laws which guarantee the right to land. But, nevertheless, we do not have one main law on land. The last Congress of People's Deputies did not touch upon this problem either. Commenting on this, Viktor Khlystun says that the land question is too politicized but this is an economic problem. It is not normal when we have political battles over the question of land. There are many problems concerning land, there is corruption in this field, there is an underground sale of land and so on, but we do not want to see these problems, we are trying to avoid them. We must legalize the sale of land, the minister says. But we must also limit the size of land plots which are for sale. However, people should have the right to do what they want with their land—to sell it or to let it. But this land should not be used for mercenary aims. We must have proper legislation for it which will not ban but limit or regulate the normal redistribution of land. He argues in favor of formulating the question of land very clearly. Can we introduce a land market regulated by the state or should we keep the moratorium which exists now? This is a very important question. But we have already decided in principle whether there should be private ownership of land or not.

Commenting on the further development of the land reform, Viktor Khlystun says: "I think that the development of private farming will go approximately at the same speed as now. And we should not try to speed up or to slow down this process. In winter time we register between 14,000 and 16,000 private farms per month. In summer time, during the growing season, this number drops. I believe that between 500,000 and 600,000 private farms will be set up eventually in Russia. Now we have 213,000 private farms. So, this figure will increase roughly by 100-150 percent. And I think that after that, this figure will not grow any more. It will account for approximately 7-8 per cent of cultivated land. But the main part of land will be used, nevertheless, by unions of peasants in the form of associations, joint-stock societies, cooperatives, and limited liability companies. And I believe that 1993 should mainly become a year of extending reforms, a year of reforming production relations within agricultural enterprises."

Khlystun says, however, that people do not have any money in their bank accounts. So, today we have a very difficult situation with agriculture. "But if we do not support agriculture now by credits on favorable terms, even if this is very painful for inflation processes, we must clearly understand that fuel and lubricants will not be bought, seeds will not be delivered, there will be no sowing. Everybody must understand this." Under such circumstances we will be forced to buy food abroad and our country will be in a very difficult situation, Khlystun continues.

"That is why our ministry is trying so hard to argue our point of view, to persuade the authorities at all levels and to prove that it is necessary today to have credits amounting to approximately R1 trillion which will be granted in the first six months of the year, in order to give peasants the opportunity to buy whatever is necessary for spring sowing and for preparing for the summer period." Kapyrina suggestsd that if agriculture does not receive this credit it will be difficult to carry out the land reform successfully. Khlystun says that many people are saying now that the land reform has caused an terrible situation in agriculture. But it really does not matter any more. We would be similar conditions regardless. We should change everything at the same time: forms of ownership, forms of farming, and establish normal economic conditions, a system for stimulating workers; and we should receive normal state support. "As a whole, we are talking about the redistribution of land, the establishment of normal forms of farming which will mean not taking something from the peasant but giving him something. Very often a peasant, a machine operator, or a cowman does not understand completely what the land reform will give him personally. But the meaning of this reform is as follows: We want him to become a man who will be able to do what he wants with his share of property. If he wants to work in a collective farm having his share there—wonderful. But he must know that he is a co- owner and not a hired worker. If he wants to have his private farm—that is his right and he can do it. This is the main meaning of the reform; we must explain this to everybody."

Khlystun says that when people talk about agriculture being in such a terrible state because of this situation, it means that political enemies of reforms want to convince people that some external circumstances are having such an impact on agriculture.

At the end of the program, Kapyrina thanks Khlystun for the interview. He says he hopes such programs can explain a lot to people and he thinks that they may be useful.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Urges Settlement of Russian 'Crisis'

LD2103200893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1703 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] The events which are now taking place in the Russian Federation are causing serious anxiety among the Ukrainian leadership and people. This is said in a statement by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. The Ukrainian leader voiced support for the reformist course of the Russian leadership, stressing that its implementation is impossible without national consensus. Ukraine will actively help the democratic processes in Russia, the economic reforms, and the strengthening of friendly, equitable relations between the people of the two states, Leonid Kravchuk stated. He appealed to the conflicting sides to give up confrontational approaches to a settlement of the crisis.

Events 'Evoke Serious Anxiety'

LD2103224893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 2200 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Today the President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk made a statement which says: The events taking place in the Russian Federation evoke serious anxiety among the leadership and people of Ukraine. In analyzing this new turn in the political struggle in Russia we proceed from the fact that confrontation between different links of state power must not halt the course of democratic transformation and lead to dramatic consequences.

I am a resolute supporter of the course of reforms conducted by the Russian leadership and am convinced its realization is impossible without national accord. Ukraine will actively support democratic processes in Russia, economic reforms, strengthening of friendly equitable relations between our nations. Close interlacing of historical destinies, cultural traditions of the two fraternal nations gives us ground to appeal to the conflicting sides with a call to renounce confrontational approaches to the settlement of the crisis. These approaches should be based on the principle of respect for power. One cannot agree to the fact that the president elected by the people and the legislative power are striving to deprive one another of authority functions without taking advice of the people.

We hope that the president, supreme legislative power, the government, and all citizens of the Russian Federation will display wisdom and sober-mindedness at this time of heavy tests and sincerely wish peace and calm to the people of Russia.

Situation Viewed With 'Alarm'

LD2203030593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2100 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By Aleksandr Tkachenko from Kiev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The events in Russia are being watched in alarm in the capitals of other republics of the former USSR. In some of these republics, the situation resembles the confrontation and struggle for power being waged in Moscow. A report from our correspondent in Kiev.

[Tkachenko] In both Russia and the Ukraine the dispute now is not so much about sharing power as about the fate of economic reforms, about whether we are to be socially orientated paupers or live in work and plenty. Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma has already stated last week that if parliament does not extend his cabinet's powers in May, he will consider his government's historic mission as having been fulfilled. However, it would seem that it is precisely now that there has appeared in Kiev at least some chance of getting the country on its feet. Inflation rates have slowed down, and Western financial organizations are announcing the opening of credit lines for the stabilization of the Ukrainian economy. Indeed, the general situation in the Ukraine is a bit calmer than in Russia—so far.

But evidently many people in Ukraine are not keen to draw conclusions on the basis of their own mistakes.

The political parties of the region and each branch of power in Ukraine have their own idea of the future of the country and intend to achieve their version of the truth. But if compromise is not found and the fragile status quo is upset, with an uncertain economic situation this may lead to real civil conflict. [video shows demonstration with people holding placard saying in Ukrainian "We are against the Khasbulatovite State Committee for the State of Emergency. We support Yeltsin!" Another placard says in English "Khasbulatov go home!"]

Khasbulatov Arrives in Kiev for Negotiations

Denies Export of 'Hardliners' Revolution'

OW1803201293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1957 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Leader of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov arrived from Minsk in Kiev on Thursday [18 March] night.

Speaking at the Kiev airport, Khasbulatov said he would hold talks with Ukrainian officials to discuss the prospects of the Commonwealth of Independent States and bilateral relations. Asked by an INTERFAX correspondent if his visit was linked to political confrontation in Russia, Khasbulatov said it had been scheduled before the Congress of People's Deputies, which, as he put it, "prevented me from fulfulling the functions of the Speaker of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly. [no closing quotation marks as received]

He denied allegations of touring former Soviet republics with an aim of exporting the Russian hardliners' revolution. Khasbulatov spoke of announcing even before the

Congress that he would go on a tour of several CIS member states after the forum so as to allay such suspicions.

Meets Kravchuk, Parliamentary Leaders

OW1903124393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1146 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of Russia's Parliament met the leadership of Ukraine's Parliament in Kiev on Friday [19 March].

As INTERFAX has learned, Mr. Khasbulatov also met with Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk at noon on Friday.

About a hundred picketers protested outside the Ukrainian Parliament, where Mr. Khasbulatov had arrived, against his visit to the republic. Some of their posters read: "We are against Khasbulatov's state of emergency committee", "Khasbulatov is a Bolshevism exporter".

As the chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party Mikhail Goryn, who was with a group of pickets, has declared in an interview with an INTERFAX correspondent, the position of Russia's President Boris Yeltsin meets the interests of Russia and Ukraine more than that of Khasbulatov. He was puzzled by the fact that Ruslan Khasbulatov, touring CIS countries as Chairman of the Interparliamentary Assembly, visited Ukraine, which is outside the assembly.

Mr. Khasbulatov said at the Kiev airport upon his arrival from Minsk on Thursday night that the purpose of his visit is to discuss matters related to CIS development and Russo-Ukrainian relations. He refuted assumptions that his tour of former USSR republics was prompted by the goals of exporting conservative revolution from Russia.

Further on Kravchuk Meeting

LD1903205193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Kiev, 19 Mar (UKRINFORM-TASS)—A meeting took place today between President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine and Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. During the meeting, there was discussion of issues of Ukrainian-Russian Federaion relations, and it was pointed out that it is in the common interests of Ukraine and Russia to develop bilateral economic ties which will help bring about reforms and democratic transformations in our states. We must not confront one another, but help one another. Unfortunately, L. Kravchuk commented, Ukraine has recently been feeling pressure from Russia in spheres vitally important for our state. The president of Ukraine stressed that for the development of goodneighborly relations between our states, bodies of state power must cease all talk and actions aimed at destroying territorial integrity. This relates, in particular, to Crimea and Sevastopol.

L. Kravchuk said, that taking as his starting point the people's inclinations, the historical traditions of statehood in Ukraine, and present-day realities, he is an advocate of the presidential-parliamentary form of rule, under which a strong presidential power and an authoritative parliament with legislative and supervisory functions should operate. The president of Ukraine commented that we are ready for closer economic cooperation, but there should be no question of political integration, or of forming a confederation reminiscent of the former Soviet Union. This does not come into the choice which the people of Ukraine made for an independent state, or into our conception of building a state.

R. Khasbulatov voiced his point of view on the issues raised and commented that he is an advocate of good relations between Russia and Ukraine. The meeting took place in a constructive atmosphere.

Communique Signed

LD1903151493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1335 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Oleg Velichko and UKRINFORM correspondent Viktor Demidenko]

[Text] Kiev [no date as received]— A communique was signed today on the results of talks between Russian and Ukrainian parliamentary delegations. It says that the parties have confirmed their adherence to the parliamentary system as a basis for the democratic development of states. Striving fully to implement their peoples' desire and showing respect for their choice as independent and sovereign states, and seeking to develop relations of fraternal friendship and good-neighborliness, Russia and Ukraine have confirmed their mutual interest in using interparliamentary dialogue for the purpose of the favorable development of bilateral relations. Russia and Ukraine have confirmed their preparedness to hold talks on the basis of the accords which have already been reached bilaterally and within the CIS.

The progress of the implementation of bilateral agreements signed earlier was discussed. The delegations agreed to continue work on creating a legal basis to ensure the development of fruitful cooperation.

During the discussion of questions of economic cooperation, particular attention was paid to the settlement of financial-currency and financial-credit problems and regulating inter-bank relations and reciprocal payments. Agreement was also reached on stepping up interparliamentary cooperation and in doing so making wider use of the possibilities of the consultative conference of chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the CIS member states and links at the level of committees and commissions.

Considerable attention was paid to a discussion of the position of Russians in the Ukraine and Ukrainians in Russia, including questions of citizenship and social protection of the population in conditions of the transfer to market relations. There was discussion of international questions of mutual interest. The Russian side expressed satisfaction with Ukraine's intention to ratify the START I Treaty.

Overall, the talks took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. It was decided to continue the constructive practice of holding talks between parliamentary delegations.

At the end of the talks Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, and Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, held a news conference.

Khasbulatov, Plyushch Cited

LD1903155493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Oleg Velichko and UKRINFORM correspondent Viktor Demidenko]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar—"Relations between Russia and Ukraine have become central in the post-Union world," Ruslan Khasbulatov stated with regard to the results of the Russian-Ukrainian meeting at the level of parliamentary delegations headed by the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets.

Giving an assessment of the talks, Ruslan Khasbulatov stressed that "in spite of the differing positions on individual questions, global interests in the mutual relations between our republics are based on the same approaches."

The head of the Russian Parliament said that at the meeting there had been discussion of a broad range of problems connected primarily with bringing the legislative acts adopted by the two parliaments closer together and also with questions of deepening economic integration between Russia and Ukraine.

Regarding the interaction of the legislature and the executive, Ruslan Khasbulatov pointed out that "many documents signed by the government are not actually being implemented." The reason for that, he added, is the weak participation of parliamentarians. "Hence the many decisions that do not receive the moral and political support of parliamentarians," he stressed.

Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, voiced regret over the fact that "a certain mistrust can still be discerned in Russian-Ukrainian relations." The deepening of interparliamentary ties, however, will, in his view, help to improve interstate relations.

Ivan Plyushch confirmed Ukraine's position that Ukraine is ready to cooperate closely with the other CIS countries at the level of committees and commissions in an interparliamentary assembly.

Replying to numerous questions from journalists on the political situation in Russia, Ruslan Khasbulatov declared that "he sees certain elements of the establishment of a dictatorship in the Russian state." In the Russian speaker's opinion, there are two types of dictatorship—communist and postcommunist. "The people of Russia must make their choice and raise their voices in defense of democracy and parliamentarianism."

In honor of Ruslan Khasbulatov, a dinner was given today on behalf of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

Further Comment

LD1903170493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1508 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Now we have a live report from Kiev. Let's listen to our correspondent Vladimir Sokolov. [passage omitted]

[Sokolov] Ruslan Khasbulatov and Ivan Plyushch have given a joint news conference for our own and foreign journalists at which, highly evaluating the results of their talks, Ruslan Khasbulatov, inter alia, said:

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] We exchanged opinions on a very wide range of questions connected first and foremost to bringing the laws which we are adopting closer together, and in the sphere of integration, economic and cultural integration. For our countries on the one hand genuinely institutional forms are characteristic—the creation of the CIS and its consultative bodies; and on the other hand, so are the direct integrational processes between economic agents. Despite any various positions on individual issues, we must understand that the relations between Russia and the Ukraine, of course, are central in the whole bloc of our post-USSR world. We are too mutually interconnected economically, culturally, and ethnically. It is natural that our global interests are based on the same approaches, and the desire that our peoples prosper, live in independence, live without need, and are respected throughout the whole world. [end recording]

[Sokolov] Ivan Plyushch, for his part, stated:

[Begin Plyushch recording] Attempting completely to embody the desires of our peoples, respecting their choice as independent and sovereign states to develop relations of fraternal friendship and good-neighborliness—I think that this formula states the essence and crux of our talks. We hope that the deepening of interparliamentary links will directly aid the establishment of the interstate relations which today, unfortunately, especially in the economic sphere, have not been established. [end recording]

[Sokolov] [passage omitted] The Russian parliamentary delegation left Kiev today.

Khasbulatov on Sevastopol, Russia

OW1903170393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov at his meeting with journalists in Kiev on Friday [19 March] asked them to avoid "over-dramatizing the Russian parliament's decision to form a special commission on the state subordination of Sevastopol".

He said that "in Russia there is a very great interest in Sevastopol, and that it would be wrong to pretend the problem does not exist".

About Russia's domestic political problems Khasbulatov said that there had been "a departure from democratic principles" in parliament lately.

At the same time he said he was satisfied with the results of the latest congress of Russia's people's deputies, which, in his opinion, "made it possible for the federal structures to conduct economic policies in the interests of the people".

Khasbulatov believes that the time has come to correct mistakes by the previous government and to recognize that the policy of reforms was wrong.

Parliamentarians Wary of Khasbulatov

MK2003120093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Mar 93 p 1

[Vladimir Skachko "Ukraine" report under the general headline: "Yeltsin, Khasbulatov Compete at CIS Level. After President's Appeal to Commonwealth Heads of State, Speaker Decides To Meet With Them Personally"]

[Text] Russian Supreme Soviet Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov arrived in Kiev on 18 March. He was met at the airport by Ukrainian Parliament Speaker Ivan Plyushch, Presidium member Anatoliy Matviyenko, Deputy Foreign Minister Nikolay Makarevich, and high-ranking officials of the Defense Ministry.

Ruslan Khasbulatov said, describing the purpose of his trip, that this was a normal visit by the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman to meet with his counterpart, during which various problems in bilateral relations and, in addition, CIS-related problems would be discussed. Asked by journalists about the possibility of exporting the Russian counterrevolution to Kiev, Ruslan Khasbulatov said: "Well, no. Even before the congress began, in order to avert such suspicions, right on the eve of the congress I announced (correspondents who interviewed me must remember this) that because I am preoccupied with internal affairs, I am unable to carry out my functions as Interparliamentary Assembly chairman and will make a tour of the CIS countries right after the congress." With regard to a possible meeting with the Ukrainian president, Ruslan Khasbulatov said that he knew Leonid Kravchuk very well and would be glad to meet with him if the latter had the time to spare—something that did occur after talks in parliament. Ukrainian Parliament Speaker Ivan Plyushch did not comment on the purpose of his Russian counterpart's visit to Ukraine.

On 19 March, talks in Kiev were held behind closed doors. After they were completed, Ivan Plyushch gave a festive dinner in honor of the Russian guest, and at 1600 Ruslan Khasbulatov left for Yerevan.

Ukrainian people's deputies, speaking to a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent, differed in their comments on the purpose of Khasbulatov's visit. Sergey Golovatyy, a leader of the opposition People's Assembly [Narodnaya Rada], put it as follows:

Plyushch has been asked two or three times about the purpose of Khasbulatov's visit. As for me, the question is as follows: What was the framework of the visit? If it is bilateral Russian-Ukrainian relations, then there must be an invitation from the head of the Ukrainian parliament extended to a Russian parliamentary delegation to visit Ukraine for talks on interparliamentary ties, nothing more. Plyushch did not say that this visit was made at his invitation. Why did Khasbulatov come, then? They say he called Plyushch and said: "I'm coming." Plyushch responded: "Please, come." That "please, come" was enough to have people prepare a residence for him and to clean the Natsionalnaya hotel. Plyushch said that it would be a brief visit. Why? They say Khasbulatov is touring his domains, traditional Russian, or rather, CIS lands. And although Ukraine does not participate in the Interparliamentary Assembly of the CIS countries, our Ivan Stepanovich has at his own discretion made arrangements as if asking: Come to us, we are just like Belarus and Armenia. But Ukraine has taken a particular stance in the CIS—it does not belong to the Interparliamentary Assembly, and I recall Ivan Stepanovich saying that we do not need interparliamentary relations within the entire CIS, that we are looking toward Europe. Now Ivan Stepanovich appears to like what Khasbulatov has done in Russia. And if earlier I was speaking about Russia's Khasbulatovism, which is represented in Ukraine by Plyushch, today we can say that Ukrainian Khasbulatovism has met with its Russian counterpart.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Is the cancellation of the parliament plenary meeting on 19 March in any way related to Khasbulatov's arrival?

[Golovatyy] Directly so. Because if it had been a preplanned visit, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman was obligated to give the head of parliament of a friendly country an opportunity if not to address, then to visit parliament and greet the deputies during a plenary meeting. Obviously, Ivan Plyushch wished to arrange it in such a way that nobody could hear or see anything so as to avoid any reaction; they were the only ones who

knew what they would discuss. Those secret intentions of Plyushch, apparently, were not known to anyone except him. That is why it was decided to cancel a Ukrainian parliament meeting even though we had already a tentative agenda approved. All this is very reprehensible and, in my view, not in Ukraine's interests.

[Aleksandr Charodeyev, a leader of the postcommunist majority] Khasbulatov requested a visit, and Khasbulatov will be received here. Why he came we will learn during the talks, provided we manage to sneak into the presidium.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] How do you assess this visit?

[Charodeyev] This is a normal phenomenon. We need to come together and speak more; those who speak with each other do not fight.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Maybe it would be better if Khasbulatov were to address the parliamentarians?

[Charodeyev] No. I am not sure about that. We have a number of people in parliament who could tactlessly offend Khasbulatov, and we would have a not very pleasant result.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] And who are those people?

[Charodeyev] At one of the meetings, Oleg Shevchuk, an opposition deputy, reproaching Ivan Plyushch for Khasbulatovism, called Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov Vissarionovich [Stalin's patronymic].

Kuchma on Russian 'Intractability' Over Debt, Fuel Prices

OW2103113993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1012 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian Premier Leonid Kuchma explains Russia's intractability with respect to the USSR foreign debt and prices for fuel and energy by its strive to receive "practical political concessions" from Ukraine, primarily concerning the status of the Black Sea Fleet base in Sevastopol.

In his conversation with our Interfax correspondent on Friday [19 March] in Kiev he pointed out that "on the whole he understands Russia's unwillingness to leave Sevastopol." He believes that this issue can be solved by joint efforts at negotiations.

Kuchma called Moscow's position "unclear" especially "when in a day the price for 1000 cubic meters of Russian gas has raised from 15,600 to 27,000 rubles though all documents have been initialled." "Such unpredictability also prevails in Moscow's approach towards the problem of the former USSR foreign debt and assets," said Kuchma. The Ukrainian Premier is convinced that in contrast to Russia Ukraine pursues "a clear and precise" policy with respect to the inheritance of the former USSR.

Speaking about Ukraine's economic problems, Kuchma pointed out that the 15.5% deficit budget for 1993 confirmed by the government on Thursday "will undoubtedly assist in strengthening of the national currency." In addition, the government foresaw great expenditures for social needs which, Kuchma said, "not a single, even the richest country in the world can allow."

The parliament's position on land ownership presents a serious hindrance for the implementation of reforms in Ukraine. The reforms will bring no results until there is no decree on private ownership on land. However, if the government adopts a progressive decree on land, the parliament will block it, Kuchma asserts.

Leonid Kuchma also declared that if the Supreme Soviet does not prolong the term of the government's additional authorities in May he will consider that "his mission of a premier has come to its end."

Political Situation Prevents Russia From Signing Agreements

OW1903152293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1421 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his interview with Ukrainian TV, Ukraine's Vice Premier Vasiliy Yevtukhov declared that the political situation in Russia prevented the Russian party from signing documents during bilateral negotiations held on March 17.

During the negotiations in Moscow the parties specifically discussed prices for Russian gas and its shipment via Ukraine's territory, issues concerning mutual accounts between enterprises in the two countries, the division of debts and assets of the former USSR, and establishing a free trade regime between Ukraine and Russia.

According to Yevtukhov, Kiev and Moscow adhere to common points of view on all issues, but documents have not been signed due to political instability in Russia. The vice premier underlined that he has already discussed the situation with the president, prime minister, and leadership of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. He expressed his conviction that the parties will finally reach an agreement on all issues.

Foreign Minister To Discuss START I During U.S. Visit

OW2203115393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During his visit to the United States on March 23-26, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko intends to inform Washington about the Ukrainian parliament's progress towards ratifying the START-1 Treaty.

Speaking on Ukrainian television Sunday [21 March] evening, the minister reported that he intends to point out a number of issues to the American side which could come up during discussion of the START-1 Treaty by the republic's Supreme Soviet.

The majority of the Ukrainian deputies corps recognizes that the $176 Mn [million] in American aid, allocated to liquidate nuclear arms, is inadequate, the Minster noted.

Zlenko reported that during his trip to the United States, he will not only meet with American officials, but also with UN Secretary General Butrus-Butrus Ghali. Zlenko plans to bring up the question of the world community's reimbursing Ukraine for losses incurred by observing sanctions against the former Yugoslavia.

The volume of losses inflicted on Ukraine is being calculated now; however, "according to preliminary data, these numbers are impressive." For example, every day Ukrainian river-workers loose about $1 Mn.

UN Offered Converted Tu-95 Strategic Bombers

PM1903104393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2100 GMT 15 Mar 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Ukraine plans to offer the United Nations a rather unusual means of transport—former Soviet Tu-95 strategic bombers deployed in the Ukraine. IZVESTIYA reports that under a plan drawn up by scientists and the military in Kiev, the aircraft in question are to be disarmed in the course of conversion and fitted with special equipment for monitoring the state of the environment. It is planned to use these aircraft on ecological patrols under UN auspices. [video shows stills of aircraft before and after conversion]

National Affairs

Commander Kozhyn Cited on Make Up of Ukrainian Navy

LD1903130693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1212 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—"The first patrol ship of the Ukrainian Navy 'Hetman Petro Sagaidachnyy', built at the Kerch yards, has arrived in Sevastopol," ITAR-TASS was told at the Black Sea Navy Press Centre. Together with the Ukrainian reconnaissance ship "Slavutich", it will undergo official trials in the Black Sea.

The missile cruiser "Vilna Ukraina" will arrive at the main Black Sea naval base from Nikolayev shortly. Another warship—the submarine chaser "Lutsk"—is expected to come from Kiev. According to a representative of the Ukrainian naval forces "Hetman Petro Sagaidachnyy" will join the first brigade of Ukrainian surface ships after the official trials are over. The crew of the vessel consists of Ukrainians (51 per cent), Russians (46 per cent) and seamen of other nationalities. It is commanded by a Ukrainian—Captain Vladimir Katushenko. The warship is named in honour of a Cossack Hetman, who led many Ukrainian incursions into Crimea and Turkey.

ITAR-TASS has learned from military sources in Sevastopol that Ukrainian Defence Minister Colonel-General Kostantin Morozov has ordered the "Lutsk" crew to be recruited exclusively on a contractual basis from among extended service navymen.

According to Rear-Admiral Boris Kozhyn, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian naval forces, the Ukrainian Navy will consist of dozens of new ships and about 40,000 seamen. "The Ukrainian Navy," he said, "will shortly be reinforced by a missile cruiser, several patrol ships and small submarine chasers, as well as some supply vessels. A programme has been drawn up to modernise the diesel-electric submarine fleet and the auxiliary flotilla, and to replenish the naval aviation with modern aircraft." Kozhyn noted that Sevastopol would be the main base of the Ukrainian Navy, while its bases will be scattered along the entire littoral from Ismail to Mariupol.

Commenting on the shipbuilding programme of the Ukrainian Navy, Aleksandr Aladkin, assistant commander of the Black Sea Navy, responsible for maintenance and repair operations, noted that in 1992, according to information on hand, not a single surface warship was laid at the eight shipbuilding yards of Ukraine and no submarines were ever built there.

Touching on the Ukrainian Navy's plans to buy ships abroad, Rear-Admiral Aladkin noted that this would involve the purchase of Western spares and ammunition, too. Moreover, no Ukrainian shipbuilding plant will be able to normally repair the purchased vessels, because they lack the necessary technology, equipment and know-how. "Ukraine will become dependent on the West," the rear-admiral believes.

Morozov Finds Draft Military Budget 'Distressing'

AU1903195693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 17 Mar 93 p 5

[Unattributed commentary published under the rubric "In Brief": "It Is Quite Expensive To Keep Fit"]

[Text] It is, to put it mildly, distressing for Ukraine's Minister of Defense K. Morozov to see the draft budget for 1993 the way it presently is. As he says, the 485.6

billion karbovantsi [K] that is allocated for military expenditure must be at least tripled. This money is not only needed for maintaining the state's defense capability but also for procuring new uniforms. Besides, more than K163 billion may be necessary to pay pensions to those who no longer need the uniform.

Kuchma Appeals to People Over Agricultural 'Crisis'

OW1903145093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1424 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian Premier Leonid Kuchma favors the restoration of cooperation between Ukrainian industrial and agricultural enterprises.

His appeal to the farmers in connection with the crisis in agriculture and the beginning of the sowing campaign, circulated on Friday [19 March], says that "independent Ukraine's second spring begins in an extremely complicated situation".

The government believes that the crisis may be resolved by pursuing a carefully weighed-out agrarian policy, not by accomplishing one more agrarian revolution, he wrote. He also stated that in March, Ukrainian farms will be supplied with 80% of the gasoline and diesel fuel produced in Ukraine. Moreover, the government will extend a ruble credit for buying oil products, pesticides and fertilizers in Russia.

The Ukrainian Cabinet has allocated $237 mn [million] for buying foreign-made seeds and pesticides, wrote Kuchma.

Odessa Calls on Ukrainian Leaders To Sign CIS Charter

LD1903142793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1411 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Odessa March 19 TASS—The Public Consultative Council of Odessa has called on the Ukrainian leadership to "sign without delay the CIS Charter and to settle the question of Ukraine's return to the rouble zone".

This is only one out of the 20 demands contained in the council's open letter to the president, speaker of the Ukrainian parliament and premier, and also to the presidential envoy in Odessa region and chairman of the Odessa City Executive Committee. It was published in the local press today. Most of the signatories are social sciences and history instructors of local higher educational establishments, activists of various parties and associations of communist orientation.

Referring to the results of their recent sociological study, the authors of the letter say that a "snowballing outburst of indignation was brewing, because patience is running out and we are on the brink of unpredictable social upheavals".

The message demands that the Ukrainian leadership should "address the people with an objective analysis of the reasons behind the collapse of the state's economic and social-political system and most of the population's extreme impoverishment".

Cabinet Adopts Bill on Economic Representation Abroad

LD1903200793 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1630 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] The Ukrainian cabinet has adopted a resolution on the procedure for granting powers on representing Ukrainian Government external economic interests abroad. These powers will now be granted by the cabinet or by the External Economic Relations Ministry on the government's instructions. It is stressed in the government document that ministries and departments must annul powers granted to organizations, enterprises, officials, and other legal persons and citizens on representing Ukrainian external econoimc interests before 20 March.

National Bank Restricts Use of Foreign Currency

LD2103060193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0500 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] The Natonal Bank of Ukraine has imposed restrictions on the use of foreign currency as a means of payment. It may be used by enterprises and organizations having the appropriate licenses. Only foreign goods legally imported into Ukraine may be sold for foreign currency. The use of foreign currency in the trade of goods on commission is banned, our correspondent in Kiev has learned.

Belarus

Shushkevich Favors Economic Collaboration With Russia

OW2203143293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1407 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich spoke in favor of forming an economic alliance and closing "significant financial agreements" with CIS countries, which would not violate the sovereignty of Belarus. "It is clear to me," he said, that "if we lose extensive economic contacts with Russia, we lose everything." Shushkevich stressed that he does not plan to take legislative initiative to turn back the course toward achieving neutral state status, which was chosen by parliament. At a meeting with journalists in Minsk he called attention to the fact that it is "not entirely sensible to make economic issues contingent upon political sovereignty and collective security." Shushkevich said that during his recent negotiations with Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, the issue of forming a confederation of states was not discussed. There were almost no controversial moments, although Belarus did bring up the statements made by several Russian parliamentarians insisting on conducting a stricter policy toward Belarus.

Shushkevich said Khasbulatov claimed that the Russian leadership and 99% of Russian parliamentarians favor good relations with Belarus, and there is no point in paying attention to individual attacks from deputies.

Organizations Favor Collective Security Treaty

OW2103123593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1637 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] 18 public organizations of Belarus formed a single front in favor of the republic's entering the system of the CIS collective security and creation of an economic union on the basis of the former USSR republics. This statement was voiced by Sergey Gaidukevich, the leader of the Coordination committee of Popular movement of Belarus, a leading expert of rights of citizens, public security, and defense Department of the republic's government.

According to Gaidukevich, if the parliament fails to adopt an appropriate resolution on March 23, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Belarusian state will be under threat.

"Somehow the NATO alliance has not been abolished due to the collapse of the USSR," noted the co-chairman of the most numerous Party of communists of Belarus Viktor Chikin (the party unites 20,000 people) who attended the press conference. He empathized the necessity of reunification of the former USSR republic "on the basis of economic and military cooperation."

Moldova

Russian Events 'Alarming'; Civil War 'A Real Threat'

OW2203114693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] What is taking place in Moscow may have a direct impact on all former union republics, the Chairman of Moldova's Parliament Victor Puscasu has told an INTERFAX correspondent. He said that "his leadership had so far made no official statement on events in Russia because neither the president nor the Supreme Soviet of Russia had concretized their programs." "However—Mr. Puscasu said—the situation is alarming. We believe that there is a real threat of civil war, which must not be allowed."

Ukraine's Kuchma Arrives for Official Talks

Need for Cooperation Highlighted

AU2003181793 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 19/3/1993—During his arrival at the airport in Chisinau, Ukrainian Premier Leonid Danylovych Kuchma stated to the press that "Moldova is a neighboring state and it is one of the main partners in economics as well as in politics," adding that "at least Ukraine thinks so." The chief of the executive body from Kiev was met by Moldovan Premier Andrei Sangheli who stated that Moldova and Ukraine are linked in practically all branches of economy and that the two delegations have to solve problems which are pertinent to economic relations between the two countries. The two premiers declared unanimously that "we will find agreement in all problems." The spectrum of the topics of the visit, in the opinion of the dignitary from Kiev, comprises a large area. Referring to the importance of the visit, Leonid Danylovych Kuchma stated that "we are neighbors and we are to have relations in all possible domains. You can judge by the composition of the delegation. Practically all ministers came to Chisinau."

On 20 March, according to the official program, official documents concerning cooperation between the two countries will be signed.

Cooperation Agreements Signed

LD2003165093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1629 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau March 20 TASS—The government delegations of Moldova and Ukraine ended their talks here on Saturday [20 March] by signing a package of agreements on cooperation.

Heads of the two delegations Leonid Kuchma, Ukrainian prime minister, and Andrei Sangheli, Moldovan prime minister, told the news conference that the two sides had succeeded in reaching an agreement on signing nearly all documents under discussion. This is primarily an agreement on trade and economic cooperation in 1993, several documents on relationship between the two states in banking, energy, communications, transport, science, culture and customs.

According to the two premiers, these agreements will make it possible to restore the discontinued relations between the two republics that have a high degree of integration and lay down a lasting foundation for their cooperation in the future.

Kuchma on Relations With West

AU2003200793 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1634 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 20/3/1993—During his meeting with the President of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma stated: "If we continue to go the way of inter-ethnic confrontation, directed by Russia, we will never stop." Mircea Snegur said that the best way out [of the crisis] is a partnership based on reliable economic structures between the former Soviet republics. Leonid Kuchma emphasized the fact that the West does not offer promised credits, whereas relations with the former socialist countries were interrupted. The two dignitaries pointed out that they want to invest in Surgut Derricks (Russian Federation), but Moldovan Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli thinks that there is a definite danger that after a period of time Russia will declare "that is all mine." Similarly as in Moldova, the situation in Ukrainian agriculture is not very promising. In reality only 50 percent of what was planned in 1992 was realized. Kuchma informed President Snegur that "Ukraine is experiencing an acute crisis. A Russian blockade of energy is no joke in the coal mines," added Kiev's prime minister.

Referring to relations with the West, the Ukrainian prime minister concluded that he "considers that the West does not have any special need of us."

Sangheli, Kuchma Comment

AU2003201193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1634 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 20/3/1993—Moldova is not only a good neighbor of Ukraine but also an ally from all points of view, today declared Leonid Kuchma, Prime Minister of Ukraine in connection with the signing of several Moldovan-Ukrainian agreements in Chisinau. The agreements were signed in accordance with the political-economic treaty signed by presidents Leonid Kravchuk and Mircea Snegur, which is valid over five years starting November 1992. Andrei Sangheli, Prime Minister of Moldova, mentioned during the press conference held after the signing of agreements that all problems on which they negotiated "were solved positively" and that despite some divergences, they managed to find practical solutions to all problems in the long-term part of the issues they discussed during the talks. The protocols are being prepared for the future signing by the governments of Moldova and Ukraine, Sangheli added. As a result of the talks, they signed agreements concerning economic and commercial cooperation in 1993, the principles of cooperation in the domains of finance, energy, telecommunications, education, and science. In connection with the issue of economic union which is now in the process of being created by Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus, Leonid Kuchma said that even during the [CIS summit] meeting in Minsk, the president of Ukraine launched the initiative of an economic union. "We plead for an economic union," underlined Leonid Kuchma. There is no other way for development today." In this connection, Premier Sangheli stated that Moldova supported Ukraine's position in Minsk. "If we want our economy to function, we must get rid of all political ambitions that exist and create difficulties to all of us," Andrei Sangheli said, pointing out that those three states really intend to create such a union and that Moldova will completely support them.

Nonobservance of Snegur-Yeltsin Convention Criticized

AU1903152493 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1928 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRES, 18/3/1993—Yesterday, on the 17th of March, the United Control Committee continued its work. After a short period of time the Moldovan delegation left the talks in protest. Victor Catana, the co-president of the Moldovan part of the United Control Committee, interviewed by BASA's correspondent, declared that this action of protest was conditioned by behavior from the representatives of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic. "They began with implicit attacks on the Snegur-Yeltsin Convention of the 21st of July to open actions against it. This leads to the militarization of the security zone. In this zone they introduced different kinds of paramilitary units, border guards and guardians. The final factor which interrupted negotiations was Tiraspol's authorities demand to remove from Tighina all police forces and Moldovan prosecution." Victor Catana considers that the main cause which aggravates the situation is the Russian neglect of the Snegur- Yeltsin Convention." Actually, separatists use Russian peace-keeping forces to introduce anti-constitutional structures into Dniestria", expressed Victor Catana.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev 'Has Not Expressed' Opinion on Russian Events

OW2203114593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev has not expressed his opinion in regards to the introduction by President Boris Yeltsin of special rule in Russia. At the same time, in talking to an INTERFAX correspondent, some of the staff of the Kazakh president indicated that Nazarbayev's official response to the steps taken by the Russian president are likely to be announced in the near future.

Meanwhile, in his Monday [22 March] address to the citizens of Kazakhstan in connection with Kazakh national holiday of "Nauryza" - New Year coming on the solar calendar celebrated in some of the Muslim countries - President Nazarbayev emphasized that stability in the republic is insured by the citizens' obedience of the law and respect of the republic's Constitution.

President Holds Closed Door Meeting With Khasbulatov

LD2103061993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0550 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 21 Mar—A meeting has just begun between Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Russian parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov. The meeting is taking place behind closed doors. The speaker intends to fly to Moscow when it is over.

Tajikistan

Rakhmonov Expresses Concern Over Events in Russia

LD2203144493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1238 GMT 22 Mar 93

[By TIA KHOVAR correspondent Nabi Kharimov for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe, 22 Mar—"The recent events in the Russian Federation cannot but arouse the concern of the world community, including Tajikistan", Imamali Rakhmonov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, said today in an interview with your TIA KHOVAR correspondent.

Tajikistan looks on Russia today not only as a friendly country but also as a great power and permanent member of the UN Security Council, a guarantee of stability in the countries of the CIS. He stressed: "We have become convinced, from the bitter experience of our small country, that there is no alternative to a peaceful settlement of political problems which arise. In this difficult period in the history of our states, the leadership of Tajikistan expresses the hope that all the branches of power and the peoples of the Russian Federation will use constitutional paths for getting out of the political crisis that has emerged."

Procurator on Moves Against Political Organizations

LD1603230593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1233 GMT 16 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 16 March—The Tajikistan Procuracy has sent a statement to the republican Supreme Court on halting the activity of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, the Islamic Revival Party, and the "Rastokhez" and "Lalyi Badakhshon" public and political movements.

Commenting on this decision, Procurator General Makhmadnazar Salekhov said in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent today that while checking the activity of these political organizations, the investigation bodies have established facts of gross violation of the organizations' own rules and programs, implication of the leadership of these parties and organizations in launching terror and, subsequently, the civil war in Tajikistan, and attempts to overthrow by force the republic's constitutional system. "The Supreme Court will decide the future of these parties," the procurator said.

At the same time, he recalled that somewhat earlier the Procuracy instituted criminal proceedings on similar charges against certain leaders of extremist public and political organizations, such as Shodmon Yusuf, chairman of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, and Davlat Usmon, deputy chairman of the Islamic Revival Party. The procurator general did not rule out instituting criminal proceedings on the above-mentioned charges against other people, too. According to him, the operational investigation team of the Procuracy is currently busy working, and "extremely curious circumstances" related to the case are being revealed.

Operation To Disarm Illegal Formations 'Successful'

LD1803092593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Text] Deputy Interior Minister of Tajikistan Gennadiy Blinov [name as received] has described as successful the results of the first two days of an operation to disarm the illegal military formations in the republic's capital, Dushanbe. Several large groups were disarmed. A large amount of firearms, including machine-gun and grenade

launchers, were confiscated. Dozens of bandits who terrorized the city for a long time were detained.

Reinforcements for Russia's 201st Division Arrive

LD1803114393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Text] Transport aircraft carrying several thousand Russian officers and soldiers will start to arrive in Tajikistan today. They are to bring the 201st Russian Division based in the republic up to its numerical strength. Sources in the division's headquarters have told INTERFAX that the operation is to be completed by late March. More than half of the personnel will serve voluntarily on a contract basis.

The decision on replenishing the 201st Division was adopted in February, during the visit to Dushanbe by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev.

Rakhmonov Blames Islamic Factions for Civil War

LD1803134793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1115 GMT 18 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe, 18 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The main reasons for the national tragedy of the Tajik people are the collapse of the state and the weakness of the political institutions of power, which extremist forces have been able to exploit, first and foremost the Islamic fundamentalists, said Imamali Rakhmonov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan. The press in the Tajik capital today carries a keynote article by him analysing the sources of the political, economic, and spiritual crisis of the Tajik nation which has brought the republic to civil war, outlining ways of achieving sociopolitical and economic stabilization and putting Tajikistan among the developed civilized states.

In their struggle for political power and the establishment of an Islamic form of government in Tajikistan, the Islamicists have "thrust tens of thousands of people into the fire of civil war, proclaimed whole regions their enemies, and persecuted fellow countrymen on ethnic grounds," Imamali Rakhmonov stressed.

The article quotes numerous examples of anticonstitutional activities by the leaders of the Islamic Party and their supporters in the form of certain other extremist sociopolitical movements aiming to take power by force of arms, to overthrow by force the president of the republic, who was elected by the whole people, and to destroy their ideological opponents physically. The fratricidal war and blockade of whole regions of the country have led to a sharp decline in output, essentialy to economic disaster.

"The authorities in Tajikistan, having set out to create a genuinely democratic secular state, are taking decisive measures to stabilize the sociopolitical situation, stop the civil strife, and restore the economy of the republic," Imamali Rakhmonov stressed. In his words, the fruits of this policy are already to be seen—the confidence of the population is rising, valid contacts are established with the leaders of CIS countries, and the world community, too, has an understanding of our problems.

Popular Front Leader Urges Groups To Disarm

OW1303162793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sangak Safarov, the leader of the Popular Front of Tajikistan, recognized that using weapons, the fighters of the National Front accomplished acts of robbery and marauding throughout Tajikistan, including Dushanbe. On Friday [12 March] he spoke at a meeting with the youth of the Khatlon province (it is made up of the former Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab provinces in which armed clashes were predominantly waged).

Safarov called on the participants of the meeting "to lay down their arms to start a peaceful life" or, as he said, "if their health and age permits then to join the governmental forces, detachments of the Interior Ministry, National Security Committee, and Defense Ministry of Tajikistan."

The Popular Front is rendering active assistance to Tajikistan's government to liquidate the opposition's armed groupings.

Gorno-Badakhshan Soviet Supports Peace, Elects Chairman

LD1803223293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1255 GMT 18 Mar 93

[By TIA Khovar correspondent Viktor Kozlov for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe, 18 Mar—A session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast (GBAO) of Tajikistan adopted a decision on support for the present legitimate government of the republic. At the same time the deputies of the oblast soviet sent a message to the Supreme Soviet Presidium which declares the territory of the GBAO to be a zone of peace and calm and which also halts the activity of illegal armed groupings and headquarters on the territory of the Pamir. In connection with this, the deputies of the oblast soviet of the GBAO appealed to the Supreme Soviet and Government of Tajikistan not to move government armed forces onto the territory of Gorno-Badakhshan without informing the oblast authorities.

The session elected Garibsho Shabozov as chairman of the oblast Soviet in place of Akbarsho Iskandarov, formerly acting president of Tajikistan, who has resigned.

The deputies discussed the situation in the Pamirs and came to the conclusion that it is essential to restore

immediately the presence in the Pamirs of the troop unit of the Russian Federation which would, jointly with the organs of the directorate of internal affairs of the oblast executive committee of the GBAO, guard the Pamir section of Tajik-Afghan border.

Citizens Wishing To Return Freed From Criminal Responsibility

LD1203211793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2054 GMT 12 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe March 12 TASS—Tajik citizens, who trespassed the state border from March 27 through December 31, 1992, and have expressed their wish to return home, will be freed from criminal responsibility, in accordance with today's decree of the republican Supreme Soviet.

The decision was prompted by principles of humanity as regards compatriots, who due to the deteriorated social and political situation in Tajikistan violated the law on state border and left for the neighbouring state, says the document published today by the local press.

Uzbekistan

Russia's Chernomyrdin Arrives for Official Visit

Talks With Mutalov, Karimov

LD1903110793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin, the head of the Russian Government, who is in Tashkent, held talks today with his Uzbek colleague Abdulhashim Mutalov. Questions of cotton deliveries to Russia's textile enterprises and Russian energy carriers to Uzbekistan were discussed.

Chernomyrdin also received Islam Karimov, the president of Uzbekistan, today.

During the Russian prime minister's visit a trade and economic agreement between Russia and Uzbekistan and a number of other documents are due to be signed.

Bilateral Agreements Signed

LD1903135693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1126 GMT 19 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Tashkent, 19 Mar— The talks between the government delegations of Russia and Uzbekistan which took place today have ended with the signing of bilateral agreements.

Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov and Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, who is head of the Russian delegation, signed an agreement on cooperation in culture, science, engineering, education, information science and sport, an agreement on the principles of cooperation and on the conditions of cooperation in transport, and an agreement on cooperation in geodesy.

Islam Karimov and Viktor Chernomyrdin have exchanged ratification documents for the treaty on the fundamentals of interstate relations, friendship, and cooperation between the two countries.

In addition to the problems connected with the subject of signed agreements, issues were discussed concerning the bilateral exchange of goods, the granting by Russia of technical credit, and deliveries of cotton to Russia. These issues will continue to be discussed until tomorrow; meanwhile, Viktor Chernomyrdin and the other members of the delegation are flying to Samarkand today.

To Visit Samarkand

LD2003065293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who is touring Uzbekistan, will visit Samarkand today.

Yesterday he held talks in Tashkent with the republic's leadership on problems with bilateral cooperation.

Today Viktor Chernomyrdin will familiarize himself with the work of the gas processing plant in the town of Karshi.

'Satisfied' With Tashkent Agreements

LD2003142593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1355 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Karshi March 20 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, now visiting Uzbekistan, toured Kashkadaryinskaya region today. Together with Uzbek President Islam Karimov, Chernomyrdin visited a gas processing plant in the city of Mubarek, one of the largest such enterprises in Uzbekistan and also in the former Soviet Union.

This plant was the first in the former Soviet Union to use home-made equipment. While the USSR deputy minister of the gas industry, Chernomyrdin participated in launching into operation the first stage of this plant and then bringing it to full-rated capacity.

After touring the plant, Chernomyrdin expressed satisfaction with the fact that the enterprise continues to operate in its usual rhythm and produce the required volume of output despite sundered economic ties. "No political realities will be able to justify us before history if the plant which was built by virtually all republics is

not updated," he said. In this connection, Chernomyrdin called for bolstering and boosting ties between Russian and Uzbek industries.

Summing up the results of his visit to Uzbekistan, Chernomyrdin said he was satisfied with the agreements reached in Tashkent. He regards a document defining the principles of coordinating the two states' credit and monetary policy mindful of Uzbekistan's firm intention to remain in the rouble zone as one of the most important accords.

Chernomyrdin will fly to Moscow this evening.

Armenia

Presidential Spokesman Comments on Russian Crisis

LD2103182793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1712 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan March 21 TASS—"The Armenian leadership believes that none of Russian political leaders would attempt to breach the law and that the crisis in Russia would be resolved on the basis of mutually acceptable resolutions," Aram Abramyan, press secretary of the Armenian president, told ITAR-TASS on Sunday [21 March].

Abramyan said that Yerevan officials believe that stability in Russia, like in any other country, can be reached by adopting a new constitution by means of a nationwide referendum.

"Armenia is interested in Russia to be a stable democratic state, following the way of economic reforms and creating civic society," the Armenian press secretary said. "We believe that this meets the aspirations of the Russian people," Abramyan added.

He noted that contradictions between the executive and legislative branches of power were characteristic of many countries, especially of new independent states, formed after the collapse of the former Soviet Union. "In these countries these contradictions are caused by objective reasons and, primarily, the absence of new constitutions, clearly separating the functions of the executive, legislative and judicial powers. That is why the political situation in Russia has deteriorated," the press secretary of the Armenian president pointed out.

Deputy Speaker Cited on Ties

OW2103110793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1010 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenia will always be seeking to have friendly relations with Russia no matter what political regime exists there, Ara Saakyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian parliament, told Interfax. Commenting on Ruslan Khasbulatov's visit to Armenia, he advocated stronger contacts between the parliaments of the two countries. He also said it was in Armenia's interest that internal stability and strong democratic institutions should exist in neighboring states. At the same time, Armenia would accept as a fait accompli any choice the top echelons of Russia's state authority made, he said, adding that the internal political situation in Russia had not been discussed at the meeting with Khasbulatov.

Khasbulatov Arrives in Yerevan for Official Visit

LD1903192393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1832 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Special ITAR-TASS correspondents Oleg Velichko and Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 19 Mar—Ruslan Khasbulatov, the chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has arrived in Yerevan this evening. At the "Zvartnots" airport in the capital of Armenia, the Russian delegation was met by Babken Araraktsyan, the head of the Armenian parliament, and other officials along with Vladimir Stupishin, the Russian Federation ambassador to Armenia.

This was a planned visit by the chairman of the Interparliamentary Assembly [IPA] of the CIS countries and the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. Ruslan Khasbulatov told an ITAR-TASS correspondent when he arrived. We, he emphasized, would like to influence a settlement of the conflict in the region via the IPA, the parliaments, and using the possibilities available to Russia. As the Russian speaker noted, during his meetings in Yerevan, he plans to work on expanding interparliamentary cooperation and also "to examine more closely" the economic situation in Armenia. Our attitude toward the complex situation in which the country and its people find themselves is well known. Therefore, as far as is possible, we are aiding Armenia, and will continue to do so, said R. Khasbulatov. In addition, there are numerous issues which need to be considered, consulted upon, and discussed, the guest added.

Talks between the Russian and Armenian parliamentary delegations are planned for tomorrow. Provisionally on the agenda are a range of issues concerning bilateral relations, improving the mechanism of the Interparliamentary Assembly, and also the forthcoming third session of the IPA of Commonwealth States.

Meets Parliament Speaker

LD2003110993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0812 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Oleg Velichko and Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan March 20 TASS—"The only right way in the current crisis is to overcome all political and economic difficulties faced by the former Soviet republics by joint efforts," Armenian Parliament Speaker Babken Araraktsyan said at a meeting with his Russian counterpart Ruslan Khasbulatov which opened here today.

On ways of boosting inter-parliamentary cooperation, Araraktsyan said "the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly can and should play a great role in tackling involved contentious issues."

Khasbulatov shared this view and emphasised that one area of the CIS Inter-Parliamentary Assembly's activity is jointly to discuss bills, study and draw closer national legislations.

Khasbulatov's Press Secretary Konstantin Zlobin said that right after the meeting with Ararktsyan the Russian parliament speaker plans to leave for Baku.

Talks End; Communique Issued

LD2003113793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1014 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko and Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 20 Mar—Talks between the parliamentary delegations of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Armenia have ended with the signing of a joint communique in Yerevan. Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov and Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Babken Ararktsyan each signed the communique.

The communique states that both sides are satisfied with the friendly character of bilateral relations and with the constantly expanding legal basis for cooperation between the two countries. It stresses that making use of the advantages of a unified economic space is very important in the economic field. Both delegations favored each state continuing to maintain an agreed position within the CIS and on the international stage.

The Armenian and Russian parliamentarians emphasized the need to continue the persistent search for a political solution to the Karabakh conflict via an unconditional cease-fire, holding direct talks, and reaching specific accords within the framework of a peace conference under CSCE auspices—with which there has been real progress—with UN backing.

Khasbulatov Cited on Talks

OW2103103193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1010 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Russian parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, on Saturday [20 March] morning met top-ranking Armenian politicians, namely parliament speaker Babken Ararktsyan, Vice-President Gagik Arutyunyan, and Deputy Prime Minister Vigen Chitechyan. The Russian delegation arrived in Yerevan on Friday [19 March] evening. Following the meeting, Khasbulatov told reporters that it had been very useful, and that the delegation, in visiting Armenia and Azerbaijan, where it is going on Saturday afternoon, was, in addition to pursuing other aims, was trying to act as a mediator in the conflict between the two republics.

Khasbulatov and Ararktsyan said there were unnecessary legislative barriers in Russian-Armenian relations which should be removed.

According to sources in the parliament of Kazakhstan, Khasbulatov will be arriving in Alma-Ata on Saturday night after visiting Baku. He will be meeting Kazakh parliament speaker Serikbolsyn Abdildin on Sunday.

Azerbaijan

Khasbulatov Arrives in Baku on Official Visit

LD2003134393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1215 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Baku, 20 March—Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, has arrived in the capital of Azerbaijan. He is on a trip to a number of capitals of CIS states. While in Baku, he will meet Azerbaijan's leadership.

According to information from official sources, the Russian speaker will spend four hours in Baku and then leave by air for Alma-Ata.

'Dynamic' Ties With Russia Needed

NC2003170593 Baku AZERTAC in English 1510 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, March 20 (AZERTAC)—The interparliamentary relations between Russia and Azerbaijan must be more dynamic and intensive, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation Ruslan Khasbulatov stated according to results of the meeting between the parliamentary delegations of two countries.

Commenting upon results of the talks the speaker of the Russian Parliament pointed out that the interparliamentary relations must be the basis for the settlement of difficult political and economic problems of the republics of the former USSR. One of these problems is a problem of Nagorno-Karabakh which, according to Ruslan Khasbulatov, is a biggest problem of the mankind.

Ruslan Khasbulatov recognized that Yerevan and Baku are supposed more realistic approach to the settlement of that conflict.

As it became clear the parliamentary delegations of Russia and Azerbaijan would sign a joint communique according to results of the talks.

Bilateral Ties Discussed With Kamberov

NC2003160293 Baku AZERTAC in English 1617 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, March 20 (AZERTAC)—The Speaker of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov visit to

Azerbaijan coincided with Nevruz holiday wildly celebrated in this Transcaucasian republic those days.

At the opening ceremony of the meeting between the parliamentary delegations of two neighbour countries the head of the Azeri Supreme Soviet Isa Kamberov expressed his hope that the relations between our countries would reach a new level. Azerbaijan is interested in preservation and development of bilateral mutually beneficial relations, he pointed out.

Ruslan Khasbulatov confirmed that Russia has aspired to continuation the cooperation with Azerbaijan and underlined that they would have to be build on faith and mutual understanding of both friendly people.

Khasbulatov Signs Communique, Ends Visit

LD2103005793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2117 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Oleg Velichko and AZERTAC correspondent Ziyadkhan Gasanov]

[Text] Baku March 20 TASS—Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and chairman of the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of the CIS, ended his working visit to the capital of Azerbaijan by signing a joint communique.

The talks, the document runs, focused on the relationship between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation, their supreme legislature, the situation in the Caucasian region and urgent international issues.

The sides voiced satisfaction with the friendly nature of Russian-Azeri relations, the trend towards their intensification which has become evident recently. During the talks the sides expressed a mutual desire to build up efforts to create a lasting legal basis for fruitful cooperation, the settlement of outstanding issues in relations between the two states. In the economic field they stressed the need to preserve and develop mutually advantageous relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Russian and Azeri parliamentarians singled out the protection of human rights, equality among citizens before the law irrespective of their nationality as one of the priorities in domestic policies of their countries.

The Azeri side, having highly assessed Russia's readiness to continue mediation in seeking out a just solution of the Karabakh problem, stressed the need for a political settlement of the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia. The parliamentarians spoke out in favour of a ceasefire, a direct dialogue between conflicting parties and specific agreements in the framework of the peace conference under the CSCE aegis, preparations for which have been marked by progress.

The speaker left for Alma-Ata on Saturday evening.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Expresses Support for Yeltsin

Yeltsin 'Guarantor' of Reform

LD1903075393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0745 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Bukalov]

[Text] Rome March 20 TASS—"Boris Yeltsin is a committed democrat, he is the guarantor of carrying through sweeping reforms in Russia," Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze said in an interview broadcast by the first programme of Italian television on Friday [19 March] evening.

Shevardnadze believes that the breakup of the USSR is a major event of the world history of the late 20th century. It was inevitable although it could pass differently, less painful. The former Soviet republics have a chance to enter the community of democratic states, Shevardnadze thinks.

Aid to Russia and to other countries which were part of the Soviet Union should be a key concern for the West, Shevardnadze emphasised.

Warns of Civil War

LD2103105193 Moscow ITAR-TASS International Service in Russian 1020 GMT 21 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 21 Mar—The people of Russia, their voters, who at the time entrusted him with the fate of the state, should become an ally of the Russian president now. Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament, expressed this view in Tbilisi today on yesterday's address to the citizens of Russia by the head of the Russian state. He was speaking at a news conference for local and foreign journalists. Boris Yeltsin has the right to propose this platform as he was not appointed to the post of president, but was elected by the people, the Georgian leader said.

"If you compare when Russia's people's deputies and its president were elected—and this is of principled importance," Shevardnadze continued—"then again this speaks in favor of Yeltsin." Eduard Shevardnadze expressed concern at the fact that, in his opinion, disagreement has appeared between the Russian president and vice president, and that they are on different platforms. If the political confrontation in Russia reaches a dramatic climax then it will be in political and economic chaos, the head of the Georgian government stressed. And this, he believes, threatens civil war. In any event, Eduard Shevardnadze told journalists, "that's the feeling I have. More than that, I can almost smell it."

Yeltsin Move 'Only Way Out'

OW2103184593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1727 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The program suggested by President Boris Yeltsin is the only way out of the present situation in Russia, the chairman of Georgia's parliament, Eduard Shevardnadze, told a news conference in Tbilisi on Sunday [March 21]. According to him, what the Russian president said on March 20 "should have been said at the 7th congress."

Shevardnadze expressed concern over the stand taken by Russia's Vice President, Aleksandr Rutskoy. The Georgian leader believes that the vice president's statement made on Saturday "aggravates the situation seriously."

"If the struggle between Yeltsin and the legislature continues and reaches a dramatic climax, Russia will be threatened with a civil war," Shevardnadze pointed out. According to him, this process will be so painful, that it will affect not only the former Soviet republics, but also Europe.

The latest developments in Russia, the Georgian leader said, testify to a deep political and economic crisis plaguing Russia. He pointed to the tangible threat of a reactionary coup in Russia long ago, he said. According to him, this process began back at the 7th congress of people's deputies. He warned Yeltsin and Western politicians more than once that this poses a real danger to the world as a whole, Shevardnadze said. "In its classical form the attempt to stage a reactionary coup took shape at the 8th congress," the Georgian leader stressed.

With reference to developments in Abkhazia he confirmed that he would like to find a solution to the conflict together with President Yeltsin. Shevardnadze also reaffirmed his adherence to the agreements on the ways to settle the conflict in Abkhazia signed in Moscow last September.

Shevardnadze attaches particular importance to a direct dialogue with the Abkhazians. According to him, "after the failure of the Sukhumi adventure" (offensive on Sukhumi) opportunities for a dialogue "are more than favorable."

Shevardnadze on NATO Role

OW2203114093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1110 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze believes that President Yeltsin has no alternative in Russia today. Speaking on national radio in Tbilisi on Monday [22 March], he said that the platform offered by Mr. Yeltsin was the only correct even though belated measure.

Mr. Shevardnadze warned against minimizing the extent of trouble in RF [Russian Federation]. In his words, the empire is falling apart, and this process can affect the former union republics and Europe alike.

He voiced the view that if confrontation in Russia reached the point of civil war, NATO must play an entirely different part. It's this alliance that must guarantee security both in Georgia and in the other former Soviet republics. However, in Mr. Shevardnadze's view, this will hardly take place since President Yeltsin has many supporters in Russia.

On the situation in Abkhazia, Mr. Shevardnadze declared that Georgia had irrefutable evidence of Russia's involvement in the conflict.

Shevardnadze, Gore Discuss Situation by Telephone

LD2103201493 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1422 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] [No dateline as received] There was a telephone conversation yesterday, 20 March, between Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the parliament of the Republic of Georgia, and U.S. Vice President Al Gore. It dealt with the current situation in the Caucasus, in particular, in Georgia. The sides also exchanged opinions on the situation in Russia.

On behalf of the U.S. President and himself personally, Mr. Gore assured Mr. Shevardnadze that the United States supports democratic processes in Georgia. He stressed that the problem of Georgia and the Caucasus region would be given special examination at the Vancouver summit. The head of the Georgian state thanked the U.S. side for its political, moral, and material support. Mr. Shevardnadze said that the platform laid down in the recent address by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin leaves room to hope that the situation will improve. Georgia, which has embarked on the path of democratic reform, has become a kind of touchstone reflecting the current events in Russia, noted the chairman of the republic's parliament.

Shevardnadze Cited on Yeltsin, Abkhaz Conflict

LD2203170693 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1415 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Today's traditional radio interview, like those that preceeded it, was almost entirely devoted to events in Russia, Georgian-Russian relations, and the conflict in Abkhazia. Touching upon the situation in which Russia finds itself "because of the attempted coup"—the phrase used by E. Shevardnadze in the interview to refer to the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies—he said that immediately after the Seventh Congress, Boris Yeltsin, as a president elected to office by the people and bearing complete responsibility for the fate of the country, should have assumed full power. Now the

situation is dramatic, he continued, Russia is on the verge of civil war but there are still chances of avoiding it.

The emergence of Lukyanov on the scene with his slogan about reviving the USSR is further proof of the short-sightedness of the leaders of the August putsch, the head of the Georgian state went on to say. I do not think the communists are back in power for that can only happen if there is civil war. They could come to power through famine and collapse but Yeltsin's position is fairly strong.

E. Shevardnadze rejected the possibility of the Russian Army's intervening in favor of a particular side, explaining that there are democratically minded people even among the generals. Among the officer corps they are an almost overwhelming majority.

On Russian-Georgian relations, E. Shevardnadze said that military victory lay in beating off the attack on Sukhumi and successfully defending the town. The political decisions and steps taken in connection with this and the arguments and facts that have been emphasized are not so much significant in themselves but are primarily needed to put a stop to the aggression and to prevent matters reaching a head-on collision. We have gained a great deal from all this from the point of view of forming public opinion. A genuine way of continuing the Russian-Georgian talks has emerged.

Regarding the participation of Armenians living in Abkhazia in the conflict, E. Shevardnadze said that this will do nothing to spoil relations between the two countries and went on to say, "it is an exception. It may be that a few people are involved by choice but we have reliable evidence that most of them are taken to the positions by force. All in all, the position of the Armenian population is normal and positive, as incidentally is that of the Azerbaijanis who are asking permisson to take part in the conflict on our side. We do not wish, however, for this to become a large- scale movement."

'State of Emergency' Declared in Gori Rayon

AU2003143493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] A battalion of reservists has [word indistinct] in the town of Gori and Gori Rayon. As our correspondent has informed us, a state of emergency has been declared on the territory of the rayon. All important installations are under a 24-hour guard.

Prime Minister Says No Need for General Mobilization

OW2103112593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1012 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia's Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua declared that currently there is no need to announce a general mobilization in Georgia; appropriate number of military equipment and troops has been accumulated in Abkhazia in order to oppose the warring side.

For his part, speaking over the national TV on Saturday [20 March], the Georgian Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani, who is in Abkhazia now, declared that Georgia has enough military equipment and well trained military experts. "We shall not take a single step backwards and we shall not cede a single patch of land."

Shevardnadze Appeals to Yeltsin on Abkhaz Conflict

OW1903144593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vladimir Chikovani, military adviser to the Georgian parliament, told INTERFAX that at 4:30 a.m. on March 19, Georgian air defense capabilities shot down a Sukhoy-27 jet-fighter of the Russian Air Force with the number "11" on its fuselage. The Russian officer piloting the war plane died in the crash. His body was discovered at the site of the plane crash in the vicinity of the village Odishi, north of Sukhumi. The Sukhoy was piloted by a Russian AF [Air Force] Major, Vatslav Aleksandrovich Shipko, Belarus national, ID Card: BO No. 087654, personal number: N-622752, born in the town of Leidtsa, Myadel District, Minsk Region. He had a wife and two sons, 10 and 7 years old.

Eduard Shevardnadze has visited the site of the plane crash. He expressed condolences to the relatives of the shot down pilot. On his instructions, the pilot's body will be handed over to the Russian Command. In his brief statement, Eduard Shevardnadze called on President Boris Yeltsin "to stop before it is too late." "The purposeless conflict between Russia and Georgia should be stopped in order that an Afghanistan or Czechoslovakia not be repeated," the head of the Georgian state said. The Hqs of the Command of the Group of Russia's Forces in Abkhazia has confirmed that a Sukhoy-27 aircraft of the Russian AF was shot down Friday morning by ground air defense capabilities over Esheri near Sukhumi.

[Moscow INTERFAX in English at 1420 GMT on 19 March reports the following:

["The press service of the Abkhazian Supreme Council on Friday denied Georgian mass media reports that Russian military forces had been participating in fighting in the Abkahzian-Georgian conflict. 'One can see in such provocative Georgian statements a striving to draw the Russian army into a conflict in which it has thus far remained neutral,' said the statement."]

Estonia

Officials Offer Encouragement to Russia's Yeltsin

Laar, Sweden's Karlsson Comment

OW2103184993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1729 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At their meeting on Sunday Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar and the former Prime Minister of Sweden, Ingvar Karlsson, came to the unanimous conclusion that it's necessary to give support to President Boris Yeltsin in his endeavors to overcome the power crisis in Russia.

Addressing newsmen afterwards, Karlsson said that during his meeting with Mart Laar both sides expressed confidence in Boris Yeltsin's ability to go on with the policy of democratic reforms in Russia. According to him, the Russian president is in control of the situation.

"The continuation of reforms is linked with the personality of Boris Yeltsin," Karlsson pointed out.

Laar: Yeltsin 'Guarantee' for Reforms

OW2203130093 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1228 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Prime Minister, Mart Laar, has said he is interested in stability and further political reforms in Russia. In an interview given to Baltfax's correspodnent on Monday, he stressed that Estonia views President Boris Yeltsin as a guarantee for a continuation of transformations in Russia.

We remember well the aid Boris Yeltsin gave the Baltic countries in the days critical for the assertion of their independence, said Mart Laar. In a statement prepared by Estonia's Government the Estonian leadership expresses support for the Russian president, he said.

We believe that Russia's problems should be resolved within the country by its citizens, the Estonian premier noted. However we can give moral support to the democratic forces, and we shall give it, he said.

Nevertheless Mart Laar said he fears that instability in Russia might have a negative effect on the process of talks between Estonia and Russia. "They might get stalemated, since there will be no political force that would assume responsibility for taking decisions. As a matter of fact, this is one of the reasons why no tangible movement forward has been in evidence at the talks lately, the Estonian premier pointed out.

Foreign Relations Commission on Support

OW2203130393 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1228 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] We may have serious differences with Boris Yeltsin, but we support the Russian President now" [quotation marks as received]—the chairman of the foreign relations commission of Estonia's National Assembly Vello Saatpalu has said in an interview with a BALTFAX correspondent.

"We'll be glad if Mr. Yeltsin learns that democratic Estonia is on his side. What he is doing in Russia can lead our neighbors to progress much faster than what his political opponents can offer"—he stressed.

Not only does instability in Russia adversely affect our bilateral relations, but it foments instability in Estonia itself, not only political but what's most important economic the parliamentarian noted. Political unrest scares foreign, investors away, and that's what upsets us most of all today, Mr. Saatpalu pointed out.

"I do not believe that there will be a direct threat of outside aggression for Estonia, even if Yeltsin's opponents take over power in Russia. The world public is strong enough to counter the threat. If Yeltsin's opponents prevail, they will have to understand that without international backing, they can hardly put the country back on its feet"—Vello Saatpalu stressed.

Social Democrats Back Yeltsin

OW2203131293 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1229 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Estonian Social Democratic Party and the republic's Social Affairs Minister Marju Lauristin declared to our BALTFAX correspondent that Estonia's democratic forces are concerned over the situation in Russia and give their backing to the Russian democrats headed by Boris Yeltsin in this conflict of powers.

The Russian President was forced to make this move and one can understand him having attentively analyzed everything what had happened at the Congress of the People's Deputies, Lauristin said. She also expressed regret that the parties failed to find a possibility to solve this conflict by political means.

Estonia's Social-Democratic Party, Lauristin said, intends to establish contacts with the Russian democrats and declared about their support in the near future.

Foreign Ministry Reiterates Support

OW2203131593 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1230 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia's Foreign Ministry released an official statement over developments in Russia late Sunday [21 March] night.

Estonia is interested in stability in the neighboring state, the document notes. For this reason, it hopes that despite the serious problems facing Russia today and the political confrontation, democratic reforms there will continue.

We have repeatedly voiced our support for President Yeltsin, democracy and the policy of reform in Russia, the statement says.

As other countries, Estonia wishes that the current processes would stay under control and violence would be avoided.

Stability, Democracy Urged

OW2203114393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Republic is intently keeping track of the political developments in the Russian Federation. "We have often stated our support for Russian democracy and reforms," says the statement circulated by the Estonian Foreign Ministry.

Estonia confirms its interest in stability in the neighboring country, saying that in spite of the serious problems it has confronted and the ongoing political confrontation, Russia will go ahead with its democratic reforms.

Government To Continue Russian Withdrawal Talks

OW2103185793 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1729 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Government does not intend to discontinue talks with Russia, the chief Estonian negotiator Yuriy Luik assured.

"The negotiations should not be viewed in the context of Political debate in Estonia. "I do not want to jump to any conclusions before the completion of talks" - he told to a Baltfax correspondent.

Earlier, the Tallinn branch of the national independence party declared that the government should consider the possibility of suspending interstate negotiations with Russia. The party of businessmen came up with a similar proposal. It recommended interrupting talks with Russia, if their next round fails to agree on the final earliest-possible withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia.

Bilateral relations are planned to be discussed at a round-table conference of all political parties of Estonia on April 2.

Six Russian Military Aircraft Leave for Russia; Four Remain

WS2203104893 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1816 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Tallinn, March 19—Friday evening, six Russian military aircraft left Estonia's Amari airport for Russia leaving a total of four planes at the largest former Soviet military airport in Estonia, the head of Estonia's defence forces, Colonel Ants Laaneots, told ETA.

"Only four Russian aircraft will remain at Amari after six military planes left. The remaining planes will leave after repairs and a following control flight," Laaneots said.

The Russian planes will be located at Tshernyakhovski military airport near Kaliningrad.

Latvia

Parliamentary Leader Views Events in Russia

OW2203131093 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1229 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Sunday [21 March] the chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet Anatolijs Gorbunovs voiced a special statement devoted to the development of the political crisis in Russia.

"Russia, our neighbor, is experiencing a crucial and very difficult period of time and today's events testify to this fact," the statement cites. For its turn, Latvia is interested in a stable and democratic Russia and will always strive to establish good neighboring relations with Russia.

"We are attentively following the processes in Russia," Gorbunovs noted,—"and we express our hope that the existing crisis of power will be solved by a democratic method." The Latvian leadership hopes that the president elected by the Russian people and the government will efficiently pursue the course of reforms which influence not only the future of Russia's citizens but the security of the whole Europe too.

Urges Continuation of Reform

LD2103201593 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs issued a statement in connection with the development of events in Russia.

The statement said: At present our neighboring state Russia finds itself in a very responsible and complicated situation; the events of the present days testify to this. Latvia, in turn, is interested in a stable and democratic Russia and has always endeavored to form good-neighborly relations with it. Precisely the uncertainty, however, the conflict in the structures of power of Russia itself, have been an obstacle in the endeavors by Latvia of finding in the political leadership of Russia a firm and reliable partner in talks. We are attentively following the processes taking place in Russia and we are expressing the hope that it will overcome the present crisis of power in a democratic way. We also hope that the president and Government of Russia elected by the entire people, will be able to effectively continue the process of reforms on which not only the future of millions of inhabitants of Russia, but also the security of all of Europe depends.

Delegation Returns From Talks in Moscow

LD1903114993 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0530 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Late yesterday evening, the Latvian delegation at the talks with Russia returned to Riga. At the airport, Janis Dinevics, leader of the delegation, spoke with the Government Information Service:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Mr. Dinevics, how was the meeting in Moscow? How did the talks go?

[Dinevics] You can say that, just as they always do, on the big issues—that is the final schedule and the property issue—there was, without a doubt, no movement. On the small issues, however, quite a lot was done.

Seven documents have been initialled, although (?just like) last time there were 11 agreements prepared for signing. At least there were some signed here. In four cases, the Russian side said they could not initial them. They still had to consult with their relevant services.

Well, that is all on the delegation's specific work, but the atmosphere was, in my opinion, strongly unfavorable. Moscow television is broadcasting quite [word indistinct] matter about Latvia. I think we will have to prepare some sort of specific response. [end recording]

That was Janis Dinevics. We should add that this morning at 1000 hours at the Council of Ministers there will be a news conference on the course of the Latvian-Russian talks.

'Disappointed' With Russian Position

OW1803200293 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1948 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvian representatives are disappointed with the results of the last round of negotiations with Russia. This was declared by the head of the Latvian delegation, State Minister Yanis Danevich at the Thursday press conference in Moscow.

He informed the journalists that only seven accords emerged as a result of the Moscow round of talks, in particular, the ones dealing with railway transportation of troops and military property, the usage of aerospace procedures and the regulations concerning the crossing of the Latvian border by military personnel and civilians working at the military-related enterprises.

Documents on the usage of postal services and electric communications, protection of rights, copyrights, and the entrance of Russian warships into the Latvian territorial waters are now ready to be initialed.

The diplomat informed that major problems concerning the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia remain unresolved. He said, Russia still refuses to set the exact date and does not present a schedule for the withdrawal of Russian troops back onto Russian territory. Issues like those of property, including property held by the military, also invoke controversy.

Mr. Danevich regards the rent for the land on which the Russian Army was stationed as another serious problem. Latvia had already presented a bill for approximately 10 Bn [billion] Latvian roubles and the Russian Army, says Y. Danevich, owes yet another 430 Mn [million] Latvian roubles on electricity and heating bills.

The next round of talks are scheduled to take place in Riga on April 26-28. The issues of the status of the Russian military prosecutors office, retired servicemen and pensions for civilians are to be discussed. Y. Danevich had stressed that the Latvian side also intends to raise the question of demolition of all redundant military buildings and the subsequent re-cultivation of soil in the areas where Russian troops were stationed.

Further Treaty Work Postponed

OW2103084693 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1718 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian party is guilty of the delay of the further development of the principal treaty on withdrawal of the Russian Army," the leader of the Russian delegation at the negotiations with Latvia Sergey Zotov reported to a correspondent of the Latvian newspaper Diena. According to Zotov, the position of the Russian

party with respect to the final date of the Army withdrawal remains unchanged and as before Russia categorically objects to the date determined by Latvia, namely, late 1993. "If Latvia does not concede, the treaty will not be signed," said Zotov.

According to the Russian party, the pre-election campaign influences the position of the Latvian delegation. "As Latvia comes nearer to the date of elections anti-Russian moods are demonstrated more obvious and this negatively influences the negotiation process," Zotov declared.

"Latvia's delegation does not hope to shortly sign the principal agreement on the withdrawal of the Russian army and is trying to fix the legal base for the process of withdrawal which has already started in order it would not stop," the leader of the Latvian delegation at the negotiations and Latvia's state minister Janis Dinevic commented the tactics of the Latvian delegation.

At the next round of the negotiations the Latvian delegation focused attention on initialling of separate agreements related to withdrawal of the Army. 7 out of 12 drafts approved by the experts of both countries have been initialled, including the draft on the right to use Latvia's air space, territorial waters, communications means, etc. by the Russian Army stationed in the republic.

The head of the Latvian delegation skeptically assesses the possibility of signing these initialled agreements.

At the negotiations the Latvian party presented an agreement on social guarantees for the Russian servicemen and retired military but, Zotov explained, the treaty will not be signed because Latvia presented its proposals "at the last moment."

Great Britain To Return National Gold Stores

OW2103085593 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1718 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the newspaper Diena, on March 19 the Latvian Foreign Minister Georgiy Andreyev and the Ambassador of Great Britain Richard Christopher Camuel signed a treaty on the transfer of more than 6 tons (210,719,919 ounces) of pure gold to the Bank of Latvia by the Government of Great Britain.

The press center of the Latvian Foreign Ministry reported that until the decision how to use this gold has not been passed it will be kept in the English Bank on Latvia's account because there is no place to keep it in the republic. According to the estimate of experts, the value of the gold belonging to Latvia constitutes $70 Mn [million].

Lithuania

Leadership Favors Developing Democracy in Russia

OW2103190193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1729 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Lithuanian Seimas Cheslovas Yurshenas thinks that the leaders of the republic are interested in the further development of democratic processes in Russia. In an exclusive interview with a BALTFAX correspondent he spoke in favor of continuing economic and political reforms started by President Yeltsin.

He reported that on Sunday he had a telephone call with President Algirdas Brazauskas, Foreign Minister Povilas Gilis and other leaders. According to Yurshenas, everyone he spoke with shared his convictions.

"Both now and before we want to see along side of us a democratic blossoming strong Russia. Thus we are very interested in the continuation of a course of reform, strengthening democracy," stated the head of the Lithuanian Seimas.

Seimas Member Medvedev Views Situation in Russia

LD2103143593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Now a glance from Lithuania at the dramatic events taking place in Moscow. Seimas member Nikolay Medvedev is an observer of the Lithuanian Parliament in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Together with Andrey Sakharov and other well-known democracts, he was at the source of the formation of the interregional deputies' group and other democratic organizations. Today we contacted him by telephone and asked him to comment on individual provisions contained in the television appeal by Boris Yeltsin:

[Begin Medvedev recording] If party apparatchiks come to power, Russia may be involved in a war with its close neighbors. I wish only to say that the slogans as of late—including those of the Russian Communist Party, that communist party which endeavors to restore itself in the rights of the CPSU—call for the restoration of the USSR.

I can see how dangerous this is, because there are states that have totally broken ties with the USSR that would like to restore normal economic and political mutual relations with a democratic Russia, but which are very afraid of the USSR. Among such states are Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, and of course Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. It is true that the status of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—as countries occupied in 1940—is different, but bearing in mind the present situation in Latvia and Estonia—that is,

unsolved nationality problems, relations among nationalities in these states—some unrest, some confrontation may get across there. And as Lithuania is separated from Latvia and Estonia by a minimal distance, it is possible that Lithuania may also feel blows of this incomprehension and confrontation.

But I am mostly concerned about the possibility of chaos in Russia and other states from the point of view of the economic situation. That is, because of this economic situation in Russia, the economic situation in Belarus and Ukraine first; and secondly, in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, will get worse. This may be the result of such confrontation.

I wish to say, too, that, on the other hand, Boris Nikolayevich is staking his authority, his political future on this, but there is no other way out for him. In fact, there is no state coup in Russia, as representatives of the Russian Supreme Soviet attempt to portray. The point is that Boris Nikolayevivh has proposed a choice to people: Is there confidence in him or not, is there confidence in the Supreme Soviet and the Congress or not? If there is no confidence in the president, then he resigns. If there is no confidenece in the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, they resign. In any case, this means new elections. This, of course, is fraught with unpleasantness. This may provoke the same process as in the USSR, but may also lead to some solution. [end recording]

Seimas Foreign Affairs Chairman on Russian Events

OW2203130493 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1229 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of Lithuanian Seimas Foreign Affairs Committee Kazys Bobelis declared at a briefing on Monday that "the events going on in Russia are arousing great concern because they can influence political situation in Lithuania as well."

Bobelis reported that the session of the Foreign Affairs Committee scheduled for Monday is to discuss Lithuania's official position with respect to the events in Russia. However, he added, "we give our sympathies for President Yeltsin." In Bobelis' words, "all politicians from the western countries actively support reforms implemented by Yeltsin and express negative emotions with respect to those who are trying to hinder them." According to Bobelis, Lithuania agrees its foreign policy with the West.

The chairman of the Seimas Ceslovas Jursenas who participated in the briefing said that on Monday the Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas had a telephone talk with the Estonian President Lennart Meri and the chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet Anatrolijs Gorbunovs. The speaker voiced a supposition that the heads of three Baltic states will shortly announce a statement on agreed position of these countries with respect to the events in Russia.

Butkevicius Discusses Russian Army Withdrawal

LD2003181193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Interview with National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius by unidentified correspondent in Vilnius; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Yesterday,the Russian ambassador in Lithuania held a meeting with Lithuanian Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius:

[Begin recording] [Butkevicius] We discussed a whole range of issues concerning mutual relations between the Ministries of Defense of Lithuania and Russia. I was interested in the statement by Mr. Kozyrev in Kaliningrad that the withdrawal of Russian troops might be stopped if an agreement on social guarantees for Russian officers present in Lithuania is not signed.

I received a reply that Russia has not changed its stand on the withdrawal of troops. I also received a reply that international agreements must be observed, including the agreement between Lithuania and Russia signed on 8 September regulating the rate of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania. I think, therefore, that the withdrawal and the progress of the withdrawal will continue, and we can talk about the complete withdrawal of Russian troops by 31 August.

[Correspondent] What do contacts between the Defense Ministries of Lithuania and Russia imply?

[Butkevicius] Contacts between the ministers are contacts between chief representatives on the withdrawal of Russian troops. There are contacts between the staff of the representatives on troop withdrawals, problems of transit through Lithuania to Kaliningrad Oblast, and transit of Russian troops from Germany. There are also many issues concerning property.

[Correspondent] Do these contacts not imply the sale of military hardware?

[Butkevicius] Yes, they imply everything.

[Correspondent] You have stated at a news conference that you support Lithuania's membership in NATO. Does it not contradict the decision of Lithuanian citizens adopted in the referendum on [words indistinct]?

[Butkevicius] I think it is much too early to speak of Lithuania's membership in NATO. Moreover, nobody in Europe knows at present what NATO will look like and what the issues of security in Europe will look like. I think that NATO will become the main mechanism regulating mutual relations in security. In this case, our participation and contacts with NATO [words indistinct] for a state that can ensure its security only with the aid of collective security. I do not think that such a stand

is contrary to our attitude toward the presence of foreign troops on our territory. Security must not be ensured by the presence of foreign military bases on our territory. [end recording]

Says Russian Stance 'Alarming'

LD1903104193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] According to National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius, the latest statements by Russian officials on the withdrawal of the Russian Army from Lithuania are alarming. At today's news conference, Butkevicius cited, above all, a statement by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, in which the withdrawal of the Army from Lithuania is linked with social guarantees for the military.

When the schedule on the Army withdrawal was signed in Moscow, no social guarantees were discussed, noted the defense minister. Russia also cannot justify with any defense interests the presence of large military forces in Kaliningrad Oblast. According to the minister, such statements should be discussed at the meeting of the ministers of defense of the NATO Cooperation Council that will take place on 29 March in Brussels. The Lithuanian minister will also attend the meeting.

There are more signs indicating that Russia is changing its stance on the issue of the Army withdrawal. So far, the 3d Coastal Defense Division has not been withdrawn, and military airfields in Siauliai, Panevezys, and Kedainiai are not being handed over to Lithuania, although equipment and servicemen are being pulled out.

Although there has not been an official Russian statement that it has broken the agreement and will not pull out the Army from Lithuania by 31 August of this year, Butkevicius said that all these facts are very alarming.

He also said he should meet today with Nikolay Obertyshev, Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Lithuania, to discuss these issues.

Claims Violation of Pullout Accord

OW1803191093 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1824 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a briefing held on Thursday [18 March] in Vilnius, Lithuania's Home Guard Minister Audrius Butkevicius expressed his concern over the violation of the schedule for withdrawal of Russian forces from Lithuania, agreed to in September 1992.

The minister said that the 3rd Coast Guard Division has not been withdrawn yet, though its pullout should have been completed late last year; three military airdromes freed by the Russian forces have not been handed over to Lithuania. Butkevicius reported that on Thursday he intends to present the claims of the Lithuanian party to the Russian Ambassador to Vilnius Nikolay Obertyshev.

The leader of the Lithuanian military department also drew attention to the threat posed by an accumulation of an impressive number of Armed Forces in the neighboring Kaliningrad Province. Butkevicius believes that Russia cannot justify the presence of such a number of servicemen and military equipment in the center of Europe, under the neither pretext of protecting Russia nor even Kaliningrad Province.

According to the Minister, this issue is to be discussed by the international community and, in particular, at the session of the NATO Council of Cooperation scheduled for March 29 in Brussels.

Criticizes Rate of Withdrawal

LD1803143693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Vytas Usas from the Seimas studio]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius met with journalists today at a news conference which was held in the Seimas Palace. There are no official statements that the Russian troops will not be withdrawn according to schedule, the minister said. However, linking the rate of withdrawal with social guarantees is political pressure. So far, the 3d Division of the Coast Guard Troops has not been withdrawn according to schedule. There are objective reasons for this as well. The Air Force units in Zokniai, Panevezys, and Kedainiai have also violated the withdrawal schedule. The installations could have already been handed over. However, the decisions have not been made.

I will meet with Russian Ambassador Obertyshev today, the minister said, and I will present my case.

The journalists asked the minister about General Steponas Nekrosius. For some time he was an adviser to the minister but his services were no longer required. I did not recommend him to the post of commander in chief of the troops and I will not recommend him, the minister said. In general, the minister believes that such a post is not necessary.

Russian Envoy Toughens Stance on Troop Withdrawal

OW2103191393 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1729 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The withdrawal of the Russian Army from Lithuania rests on the documents that formally have not taken effect. Such an opinion was voiced by Russia's Ambassador to Lithuania Nikolay Obertyshev in an interview with Lithuanian radio on Saturday.

He argued that the documents signed by the defence ministers of the two countries in Moscow last September, including a time-table for the pullout of troops, were, allegedly "a supplement to a basic accord that had not been signed".

Mr. Obertyshev said that "the policy of Russia toward troops withdrawal would remain unchanged, if official delegations of Russia and Lithuania started early talks, then continued them successfully, and crown them with a major troops withdrawal agreement and an economic cooperation treaty".

On violations of the signed time-table for the pullout of troops and delays with the withdrawal of separate army units, Mr. Obertyshev said that "this must not particularly irritate or worry the Lithuanian side", since "it's essential to aim at the deadline for withdrawal".

"Either side should meet the other half way. If no agreements are signed, Russia may change its policy—Mr. Obertyshev said.

In keeping with an earlier accord, Russia's troops are to leave the territory of Lithuania by August 31, 1993.

Government 'Ready' To Resume Talks With Russia

OW2203130693 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1229 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Our position is firm and unequivocal: Lithuania wants to restore historical justice and statehood and seeks to get Russian troops pulled out of the country", Lithuania's foreign minister Povilas Gylys has said in an interview with a Baltfax correspondent. The minister commented on a statement released by the Lithuanian foreign ministry on Sunday [21 March].

The statement says that Lithuania's new leadership sincerely wishes good mutually advantageous relations with Russia and is ready to remove obstacles to cooperation. It expects the same from Russia even in its very complex conditions, the statement says.

However, it goes on, there have lately been signs of attempts in Moscow and in Vilnyus to interpret "Lithuania's good will toward Russia as a weakness of the new Lithuanian authorities, and their inclination for unilateral concessions.

"We'll do our utmost in the future so that there would be no foreign troop left in our country. We cannot make concessions that may be construed as a sign of the legalization of foreign military presence in Lithuania", the statement says.

The document declares Lithuania's readiness to resume negotiations with Russia and voices hope that they will yield the result acceptable for both countries and will promote their good neighborly ties.